

**A HISTORY OF
IRELAND FROM
THE EARLIEST
ACCOUNTS TO
THE...**





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HISTORY
OF
IRELAND.



VOL. I.





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REV.^d

James Bentley Gordon

A

HISTORY

OF

IRELAND,

FROM
THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS

TO THE
ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE UNION WITH
GREAT BRITAIN IN 1801.



BY THE REV. JAMES GORDON,

RECTOR OF KILLEGNY IN THE DIOCESE OF FERNS, AND OF CANNA-
WAY IN THE DIOCESE OF CORK.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

~~~~~  
VOL. I.  
~~~~~



Nobis in arto & inglorius labor.
Non tamen sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia,
ex quibus magnarum sæpe rerum motus oriuntur.

TACITUS.

Dublin :

PRINTED BY JOHN JONES, 90, BRIDE-STREET.

—><—
1805.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
Richard Hely Hutchinson,
EARL OF DONOUGHMORE.



My LORD,

EDUCATED in a University in which your Father long presided with active Attention to the Advancement of its Excellence, and which has been represented by yourself with Ability in Parliament, I take the Liberty of dedicating to your Lordship a HISTORY OF IRELAND, a Country for whose welfare the enlightened Patriotism of yourself, your Father, and Brothers, has been strenuously exerted. The Compilation of an impartial Narrative from a Chaos of discordant Materials is a Work of some Labour, and, in this Age and Country, of some Adventure. To gratify any Faction, or indulge any Prejudice, is no Part of my Plan ; nor mean I offense to any ; but to expect that none will be offended, would

DEDICATION.

would argue extreme Ignorance. If in remote Ages, immerfed in Darknefs, or fcarcely difcoverable by a lurid Light, I have been unable to trace that Luftre and Civilization which the ancient Irifh are faid to have poffeffed, I think myfelf not on that Account inferior to any Man in Zeal for the folid Advantage of my Country, whofe numerous Inhabitants form a respectable Nation rapidly advancing in the Arts of focial Life. Incorporated with the People of Great Britain by a Legislative Union, and preffed by an immense Weight of hostile Power from Abroad, may we be firmly united among ourfelves by a liberal Policy, which abolifhes Diftinctions creative of Difcord and National Weaknefs, and adopts ufe-ful Merit wherever it can be found.

Jam moribus, artibus, ad finitibus nostris, mixti, aurum & opes suas inferant, potius quam separati habeant.

TACITUS.

I am,

My-LORD,

With efteem and refpect,

Your Lordfhip's obliged

And very humble Servant,

JAMES BENTLEY GORDON.

TO THE
R E A D E R.

REASONS ought to be given for a difference from the common mode of spelling in three or four words in the following History, as, without manifest expediency, innovations in language, above all in spelling, ought not to be admitted.

The letter *S* in *island* is redundant, and erroneously adopted from *isle* in the French language, which however contains no such word as *island*. The word is originally Gothic, and without an *S* in the old English, in which we find *ey*, *yle*, and *eyland*, synonymous terms, as in the modern Belgic dialects, to which, of all languages, the English bears the closest affinity. So useless an innovation, as the engrafting of a dead letter from the French on an original English word, ought to be corrected.

Instead of *annexation*, in this book is *annexion*, derived from *annecto*, in like manner as *connexion* from *connecto*. If *annexation* be proper, why not also *connexion*?

By writing *monarchal* the derivation is closely observed, and the cacophony of *monarchical* avoided.

E R R A T A.

FOR the prevention of typographical errors, the author had intended to inspect personally the printing of his work. As his plan of constant residence in Dublin at the requisite season has been deranged from unforeseen circumstances, the following errors have happened, most of which a sensible reader would correct from his own judgement.

In page 104	line 6 from the bottom—	for <i>O'Farlan</i>	read <i>O'Faolan.</i>
152	last line	for <i>revent</i>	read <i>prevent.</i>
164	line 11 from the top	for <i>join any</i>	read <i>gain any.</i>
168	line 2 from the bottom	for <i>into</i>	read <i>in.</i>
172	line 13 from the top	for <i>Aquitainans</i>	read <i>Aquitaniens.</i>
187	line 7 from the bottom	for <i>at acquisition</i>	read <i>at the acquisition.</i>
190	line 5 from bottom	for <i>siatute</i>	read <i>state.</i>
191	line 1 at the top	for <i>into</i>	read <i>into Ireland.</i>
210	line 2 from bottom	for <i>Widwoole</i>	read <i>Woodville.</i>
231	line 18	for <i>immediately</i>	read <i>imminently.</i>
232	line 11	for <i>ambassadors</i>	read <i>ambassador.</i>
243	line 3	for <i>broken</i>	read <i>brebon.</i>
251	line 10 from the bottom	put a comma	after <i>Piers.</i>
270	line 4	for <i>into</i>	read <i>in.</i>
278	line 2 from the bottom	for <i>produced</i>	read <i>procured.</i>
288	line 11	for <i>confined</i>	read <i>confirmed.</i>
327	line 20	for <i>tobers</i>	read <i>others.</i>
384	line 24	for <i>full in possession</i>	read <i>in full possession.</i>
396	line 11 from the bottom	for <i>ability</i>	read <i>debility.</i>
412	line 8 from the bottom	for <i>as vain useless</i>	read <i>as vain as useless.</i>
433	line 13	for <i>commissioner</i>	read <i>commissioners.</i>

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HISTORY

HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

Introduction—Geographical Sketch of Ireland—its Situation—Figure—Inlets—Contour—Face—Bogs Mountains—Rivers—Lakes—Air—Fertility—Animals—Area—Division.

SINCE IRELAND, now politically consolidated into one potent kingdom with BRITAIN, her great sister island, forms an integral part of the British empire, a compendium of her particular history, from the earliest accounts to the amalgamation of her legislature with the British, may not be useless nor unacceptable; a compendium embracing whatever is found authentic and important, rejecting

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I.
Introduction.

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CHAP.

I.

jesting whatever appears fabulous or nugatory. The shortness of human life, and the value of time to his readers, admonish the historian to avoid superfluity and repetition, and to confine his narrative to interesting truths, without neglect of perspicuity. This narrative extends to the commencement of the nineteenth century, a luminous period in comparison of ages past, yet marked with some strokes of deepest barbarism; in proof of which posterity will quote the debates held on the subject of bull-baiting in the imperial parliament of Britain, the most respectable assembly of legislators on earth, whose votes have sanctioned an amusement the most disgraceful to human nature, the torturing of an animal so inoffensive and so useful to mankind, as to be regarded by some nations of Asia, through an amiable error, with religious respect. We may hope that Europe, at the end of this century, may be found more improved by the light of literature, which though it has not as yet removed barbarism from our manners, has in some degree expunged from history its legends and romances. Since for the perspicuity of historical narrations, geography is as necessary a concomitant as chronology, I begin this work with a geographical sketch of Ireland, extracted from a more voluminous work of mine, *Terraquea, or a Geographical and Historical Account of all Countries*, which the reader may consult, who wishes a more ample information of its geography.

Site.

This island, the third in magnitude of those which are denominated European, lies westward of Britain, whence it is parted by the Irish sea, called

also

also Saint-George's Channel, which varies in breadth from forty to fourteen leagues, except where it is contracted into a smaller space between the county of Down and the coast of North Britain, and a still smaller, of only four leagues in breadth, between the north point of the county of Antrim and the Mull of Kyntire on the Scottish coast.

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Figure.

Oblong and far more compact in its figure than Britain, but still irregular, it narrows from the middle, with various inequalities, to the north-east and south-west; contracting suddenly in the former direction, and then somewhat dilating, so as to make in that quarter a kind of rounded peninsula; in some degree gibbous on the south-east, and of a serrated form on the south-west. Exposed all along the western side to the whole fury of the Atlantic, which swells to a tremendous height, and breaks with inconceivable violence on its shores, its coast is there more angled and indented than elsewhere, and is more bordered with islands, which appear to have been rent from the main land by the irruptions of that boisterous element.

Inlets.

The chief inlets which pierce the shores of Ireland are on the west and south-west of the island. "Those indented coasts, which present innumerable promontories to the fury of the vast Atlantic, form in their deep recesses some of the noblest havens in the world; havens so secure and capacious, that in several of them the whole navy of Great Britain might ride in perfect safety." "The greatest of these noble inlets, which might, and, we hope, will in better

times,

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* times, be attended with vast commercial advantages, are the bays of Bantry, Kenmare, Dingle, Galway, Clew, and Donegal. The most commodious is the Bay of Bantry, the chief inlet of the county of Cork, twenty-six English miles in length, six in breadth, every where deep, in some places not less than forty fathoms, sheltered with high and steep shores of rock, but quite safe, and clear of rocks in the channel.

Contour.

In a vast moor, or turf-bog, named the Bog of Allen, which has a position not far from central, the plan of the soil, or platform of Ireland, has its greatest elevation, an elevation hardly exceeding two hundred and seventy feet, yet more than sufficient to give descent to the greatest rivers of the island. Through this vast bog, which is apparently level, runs the main spine of the island, separating the waters of the Shannon from those which flow eastward to the Irish channel, and southward to the shores of Munster and the ocean. This ridge or spine, which is not every where observable by the eye, but can easily be geographically traced, winds on one side northward to the mountains of Tyrone, and on the other southward to the mountains of Slyeeve-Bloom and the Galtees, whence it runs westward to the peninsula of Corcaguinny.

Fels.

Founded on an immense rock or bed of granite, which rises from the bosom of the deep, Ireland has no such extensive tracts of mountains as Britain, nor any such low, fenny flats as that island; nor has she any hills of chalk, nor, excepting the shores,

• Beaufort's Memoir of Ireland.

shores, large tracts of sand ; but a soil more commonly of a gravelly nature, with a substratum of stone mostly calcareous, interspersed with argillaceous, ferrugineous, and other kinds of matter. The rock, which forms the substratum, rises very frequently naked to the view, almost continually meeting the eye of the traveller, not only on the eminences, but also in the plains. Collectively surveyed, Ireland is not mountainous. Many parts are level, some quite flat, and many uneven with hills of no great magnitude. The most extensive levels are about the middle of the island, where a vast plain stretches quite across from sea to sea, from the coast of Dublin to the bay of Galway, including in its extent the bog of Allen. In general the maritime parts, particularly the western, are more mountainous than the interior ; yet the mountains are so distributed, that we find few places “ in which the prospect is not somewhere terminated by this species of majestic scenery, forming a background seldom more remote than twenty miles.” * Such in fact is their distribution, and such are the prospects which they afford, over extensive plains or waving surfaces, lakes of various extent, and fine streams of water gliding through the most beautifully verdant lands, as if nature had intended this island for a region of landscape, and a lavish variety of charming scenes. Here are no dead unvaried flats whose dull uniformity fatigues the view ; nor are the eminences commonly other than such as serve

* Beaufort's Memoir.

CHAP. serve to create a pleasing variety in the prospect, or
I. add majesty to the scene.

Bogs.

Yet numerous turf-bogs, not only on the summits and sides of mountains, but also in the plains, tend in some degree to deform the aspect of the country in many places, and, as it were, to darken its complexion. Many of these are capable of being converted by industry into excellent ground, and, where they occupy not too great a proportion of the land, they compensate for their russet or sable hues by the abundance of fuel which they yield. Nor are morasses of this kind pernicious to the health of man. "The bog waters, far from emitting putrid exhalations, like stagnant pools and marshes, are of an antiseptic and strongly astringent quality; as appears from their preserving through ages, and even adding to, the durability of the timber, which we find universally buried beneath their surfaces; and from their converting to a sort of leather the skins of men and animals, who have had the misfortune of being lost, and of remaining in them for any length of time."* Far the most extensive is the bog of Allen, already mentioned, with a length of hardly less than seventy miles.

Moun-
tains.

The mountains of Ireland are variously arranged; some insulated by surrounding plains or vallies, some extended in ranges, but most of them collected in irregular groups, or in unconnected masses of different magnitudes. They have a great variety of forms, and not less various acclivity; in general of easy ascent, affording pasturage, and even admitting culture,

* Beaufort's Memoir.

culture, far above their bases; but some are also of a precipitous aspect, and some of considerable height, towering aloft in the form of cones, or piercing the skies with spiral summits. No mountains, however, of this island can be said to be of great altitude; the highest being much inferior to the peak of Snowdon, which is itself surpassed by several others in Britain. Referring the reader to the Terraquea for more particular information, I shall here only instance, that in the counties of Mayo and Galway, where a broad projecting tract, not unlike Wales in its prominent figure and rugged face, advances, as it were, to oppose the fury of the ocean, many gloomy masses of mountain darken the aspect of the land, and render some parts almost impracticable to the traveller. Two of supereminent majesty, perhaps the highest in Ireland, Nephin and Croagh-Patrick, both in Mayo, rear their lofty heads, the former to the altitude of eight hundred and eighty yards, the latter eight hundred and eighty-eight, above the level of the sea. Croagh-Patrick is a vast ridge, the summit of which appears to the eye a monstrous cone, perfectly regular, and is discernable at the distance of sixty miles.

This island is not less diversified with lakes and rivers than with hills and mountains. Of all the British islands, which in general so abound in water, none is more copiously supplied with that element than Ireland. The earth, as the air, is replete with moisture. Springs are seen bursting from the ground in every quarter; and the country is intersected in all directions by a multitude of rivers, many of which meet in their course with such hollows or depressions,

of

CHAP.

I.

Rivers.

of the earth as, when filled by their waters, become lakes. The lakes contribute much to beautify the country, and still more the rivers, as the finest and most fertile grounds are commonly situate on their banks; but, on account of the rocky channels in which they flow, few of them are navigable without interruption through any great length of course. Such impediments, however, might generally be removed, and an extensive inland navigation formed to the vast emolument of the public.

The Shannon, by which and the Ern a great portion of Ireland in the west is peninsulated, nearly in like manner as a similar tract in the west of Britain is by the Severn and Dee, is the greatest river, not only of Ireland but of the British islands, winding through a course of a hundred and eighty-six miles, and spreading into large lakes interspersed with islands. Next in magnitude to the Shannon among Irish rivers are the three sisters, the Barrow, the Nore, and the Suir, rising from the elevated tract in which are the bog of Allen and the ridge of Sleeve-Bloom, and, after a mutual deflection and approach, pouring their united streams into the harbour of Waterford. The Nore and Barrow first unite at the town of New-Ross, whence the combined stream, navigable by large vessels, is called the river of Ross; and nine miles lower is the influx of the Suir, or Shoor.

Lakes.

Of lakes Ireland contains a considerable number, especially in the west and north, some of which are in magnitude inferior to few in Europe, after those which lie in the vicinity of the Alps and of the Baltic sea.

sea. Lough Neagh extends to the length of eighteen English miles, occupies an area of above ninety thousand English acres, and is navigable by ships of considerable burden. This lake is almost destitute of islands, but lough Ern contains in its two basons three or four hundred. One of these basons, which are connected by a winding channel six miles long, extends to the length of ten, the other to that of thirteen miles. Lough Lane in the county of Kerry, consisting in like manner of two lakes, is the most celebrated of all. These glassy lakes, overlooked by stupendous mountains; bordered with pendent woods, most delightfully variegated; ornamented with the most romantic verdant islands; resounding on all sides with waterfalls and the reverberations of a vast variety of echoes, combine an assemblage of beauties, perhaps unparalleled, at least far surpassing all power of language to express.

I have already observed that the earth and air abound in moisture. As winds from westerly, and still more from south-westerly points, predominate so much that they may be said to blow three fourths of the year on this island, which on all sides, except the eastern, lies quite open to the Atlantic, its atmosphere is clouded and moist in the extreme; yet far from insalubrious, as being in a perpetual state of ventilation. Nothing can be more uncertain than the weather, or irregular than the seasons; but, in general, showers are very frequent, especially in winter; and the quantity of rain, which falls in the year, is greater than in the southern parts of Britain, in proportion to the area. The south-west and south winds

Air.

CHAP.

I.

winds prevail more in winter than in the other seasons; the west in summer and autumn; the south-east, east, north-east, and north in spring. Storms are vastly more frequent in autumn and winter than in spring or summer, and are found to come oftener in the months of November, December, January and February, than in the equinoctial months of March and September.

As the air is more moist, so is the temperature more mild than in South Britain, both with respect to cold and heat, especially the former. Snow of a month's duration on the plains is a rare phenomenon; and some winters are seen without either frost or snow in that situation, but instead thereof is abundance of rain. Yet, though the winter is, in general, surprisngly mild, sometimes even tepid, so as frequently to be too warm for strenuous exercise, the cold, moderate as it is, continues commonly seven or eight months; fires in chambers being requisite from about the middle of September to the middle of May. The seasons are later here than in south Britain; the spring and autumn more tardy in their approach, as also the winter; the fall of the leaf being later than in England.

The extent of Ireland in a meridian line not being above four degrees of latitude, its northern and southern parts can scarcely have any very sensible difference of temperature from a difference of climate. Such difference must be occasioned, where it subsists, by the elevations of the land, and its situation with respect to the ocean. Thus the western and southern parts are more moist and temperate than the eastern
and

and north-eastern, and the coasts than the interior country. Perhaps even the nature of the soil affects the temperature in some small degree; and on those tracts, which have a substratum of limestone near the surface, the snow dissolves sooner than on others, which are neither more elevated nor more remote from the ocean.

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I.

The humid and rainy atmosphere of Ireland is well adapted to its rocky soil, which is naturally far more fertile than that of Britain, even than that of England, which of Britain is far the richest part; but its fertility is much more conspicuous in the grass than in the corn; the excessive moisture, so beneficial to the former, being pernicious to the latter. Thus the wheat is inferior in weight and colour to that of dryer countries; the crops are liable to be injured by weeds; the labours interrupted, and the product damaged, by unseasonable rains. Besides, how great soever may be the natural superiority of the Irish soil, it is in acquired fertility much inferior to that of England, which has been improved by the successive labours of many generations.

Fertility.

Ireland is destitute still of some species of birds, fish, and other animals, which are found in her great sister island. Magpies and frogs, which are now very numerous, were here unknown, until they were introduced from Britain toward the beginning of the eighteenth century. Moles, toads, and all kinds of serpents, are still unknown. If serpents cannot live in Ireland, which appears to me a very doubtful point, the cause is most probably to be found in the deficiency

Animals.

CHAP. deficiency of heat, which is observed to be unfriendly
I. to the perfection of corn.

Area.

The greatest length of Ireland from north-east to south-west is three hundred and six English miles ; its greatest breadth two hundred and seven ; and its area, which has been mostly under-rated, contains, conceived as a flat surface, without regard to its inequalities, about twenty millions of English, or above twelve millions of Irish acres. This area, with respect to civil or political distinctions, is divided into the four provinces of Munster, Connaught, Leinster, and Ulster, which are subdivided into thirty-two counties, and these again into two hundred and fifty-two baronies. Munster contains the six counties of Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Clare : Connaught the five of Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim, and Roscommon : Leinster the twelve of Longford, Westmeath, King's county, Queen's county, Kilkenny, Carlow, Wexford, Wicklow, Kildare, Dublin, Meath, and Louth ; and Ulster the nine of Cavan, Monaghan, Armagh, Down, Antrim, Derry, Donegal, Tyrone, and Fermanagh. The largest of all the counties is Cork, which contains in area almost a million and fifty thousand Irish acres ; and the least is Louth, which has hardly a hundred and eleven thousand.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

National vanity—Periods of Irish History—Ireland known to the Phœnicians and Greeks—to the Romans—its Name—Celts—Goths—Firbolgs—Tuatha-de-Danans—Scots—Romans—Fables—Songs—Colonies—Language—Stories—Cairbre-Caitkan—Tuathal—Leinster Tribute—Fin Mac Combal—Osbin—Oscar—Nial of the Nine Hostages.

TO derive their origin from ancestors of ancient
renown and polished manners has been the ambition
of every people, in a state of glimmering knowledge,
between the darkness of barbarism and the illumina-
tion of literature. Of this puerile vanity, which
endures not the light of historical research, Ireland
has had its portion. The curiosity of readers, desi-
rous to be instructed in the uninteresting fables of
Irish antiquity, may be satisfied, without more ex-
tensive inquiry, by the perusal of the history given
by Keating, and the Ogygia of O'Flaherty. Refu-
tations of such fictions, and attempts of a judicious
nature to select from the rubbish of romantic story
some disfigured and obscure facts, may principally
be found in the antiquities of Ledwich and the
strictures of Campbell. That in the ages anterior to
the birth of Christ the affairs of this country are
utterly unknown and inscrutable, is the result of the
most laborious and accurate research. As darkness
impenetrable rests on this period of Irish transactions,
so hardly a few rays of glimmering light appear be-
tween

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Vanity.

Periods.

CHAP.
II.

tween the incarnation of our Saviour and the introduction of Christian worship into this island towards the middle of the fifth century. Even after that happy event, very little authentic matter can be collected, beyond the affairs of the church and some actions of religious and literary men, till the invasion of the English under Henry the second; when commences a more authentic, regular, and connected chain of events. Thus the periods of time, with respect to Irish transactions, may not improperly be denominated the unknown, the fabulous, the legendary, and the historical; the first ending about the time of the incarnation; the second near the middle of the fifth century; the third at the English invasion in 1170; and the fourth extending from that event to the present time.

That the Phœnicians, the renowned navigators of antiquity, who planted colonies in Spain, and are supposed to have frequented from commercial motives the ports of Britain, were not unacquainted with the coasts of Ireland, might seem in some degree probable, without any authority of ancient writers. The fact was believed by the poet Festus Avienus. That the Greeks had received some obscure account of this island, either through the Phœnicians or some other medium, four or five centuries before Christ, we learn from the Argonautics under the name of Orpheus, a poet imagined cotemporary with Pisistratus the Athenian. Above three centuries before the Christian era, Aristotle, in his treatise of the World, names the two greatest Bretanic islands Albion and Jerne. More known to the Romans, it was noticed

ticed by several writers in very early periods of the Christian era, as by Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Solinus; but chiefly by Ptolemy, a geographer of the second century, who has marked the names and situations of places and tribes of Irish people, from the best information which he could procure. Of the state of the inhabitants, except their barbarism we are not informed by these writers. The name of the country has been imagined of Celtic origin, denominated anciently Iri, Eri, Erin, Iere, Ierne, and Iris, by which was believed to be denoted its western site with regard to Europe. Others consider the original term as Gothic signifying the farther ile. From this perhaps are derived the names Ouernia, Juverna, and Hibernia. The appellation of Scotia, which it retained until the tenth century, is of a later date, and from a Gothic source. *Ireland* is only a compound of a Gothic epithet with its primitive denomination.

Name.

That this island was first colonized by Celtic tribes, the primitive possessors of the European continent, of a brownish complexion with black and curling hair, seems hardly to admit a doubt; but when and whence they first arrived, are questions unanswerable. From the researches of the best antiquarians, especially the acute and laborious Pinkerton,* two races of Celtic people, distinguished by the names of Gael and Cumraig, appear to have successively inhabited the southern parts of Britain, in ages long anterior to the birth of Christ. The former,

Celts.

* Inquiry into the History of Scotland.

CHAP.
II.

former, supposed with reason to have been the same with the Gallic Celts of Cæsar, * and to have come immediately from France into Britain, were probably driven westward into Wales and Cornwall, and at last into Ireland, by the Cumri or Cumraigs, who are likewise with reason supposed to have come from Germany. The language of the Gaels, termed Gailic, remains, how much corrupted soever, especially in the west of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, very distinct from the Welch, the dialect of the Cumri. The proximity of the Welch and Scottish headlands, more especially the latter, afforded the opportunity of a short navigation from Britain to the Irish coasts, very short in comparison of the voyages now known to be performed by savage tribes, in vessels framed slightly of wood and covered with leather, such as have been formerly much in use in the seas of the British islands.

Goths.

Of these primitive colonists, who were doubtless illiterate, and even savage, no history can be given; nor could a narrative of their transactions be other than disgusting by a uniform repetition of petty wars and acts of barbarian ferocity. Their first arrival may have happened nine or ten centuries before the Christian era, and later by six or seven may have been the first invasion of Gothic tribes. The vast race of the Goths, proved by a chain of evidence to have been the same with the ancient Scythians, † distinguished by large limbs and stature, fair complexions, blue or grey eyes, and red or flaxen

* See Gordon's *Terraquea*, vol. 4. p. 288.

† Pinkerton's *dissertation on the Scythians or Goths*.

flaxen hair, are traced in their migrations from Persia, through the western regions of Tartary, into Europe, great part of which they overran, driving the Celts toward the west, and the Finns to the north. The first colonists of Scythian race in Ireland, were probably Belgians, a numerous people, who were known, long before the birth of Christ, to have advanced so far to the west as to occupy the Netherlands, with a considerable portion of the modern France and the south-eastern parts of Britain. The Belgian colony, probably the *Firbolgs* of ancient Irish tradition, appear to have established principally their settlements in the south-eastern parts, the maritime tracts of the modern counties of Waterford and Wexford, where Ptolemy found people distinguished by the appellations of Menapii and Cauci, appellations belonging to the Belgic tribes on the continent, and where, in the Baronies of Bargy and Forth, a people now dwells, distinguished by a peculiar dialect from the rest of the modern Irish, probably the descendants of the ancient Belgians, with a great intermixture of English colonists.

As we are led by circumstances to suppose that the Belgian Goths, the chief ancestors of the modern English, Dutch, Flemings, and several people of Germany, furnished the earliest colonies to Ireland after the tribes of Celtic denomination; so likewise have we good grounds to believe that the Scandinavian Goths, from whom are descended the present Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Lowland Scottish people, were the next and more frequent colonizers of this country. Among these appear to have been the *Tuatha-de-Danans*, reported in Irish

CHAP.
II.

tradition to have practiced the fancied arts of magical incantation; arts vulgarly attributed in former ages to tribes inhabiting the regions of the Baltic. These invaders of Ireland, whose name seems translatable into *Lord-Danes*, a term familiar in English history, are called also Damnonians, and may probably have been Danes, whose national appellation might have been some ages earlier known to the Irish and other northerns than to the Romans; or might perhaps in later periods, when the Danish name had acquired an infamous renown, have been applied by Irish writers to former adventurers considered as belonging to this formidable race. This is only conjecture; but that Ireland, at least so early as the fourth century, was in possession of the Scots, the same probably as the Goths or Scythians in the original sound and import of the term, we have sufficient authority, particularly that of the poet Claudian; whence the name of Scotia was given to this island; that of Scots, with a circumscribed and altered signification, to its inhabitants indiscriminately.

Romans.

As the celebrated Romans, who subdued by their arms, and civilized by their institutions, so great a portion of the ancient world, never sent an invading force into Ireland, relinquished thus to primeval ignorance, we have no accounts of Irish revolution from Roman writers, nor information, beyond their weakness and barbarism, concerning the government and manners of the people. From the great historian Tacitus, we learn that, about the eighth year of the Christian era, an Irish chieftain, expelled by domestic faction, took refuge with Agricola,

cola, a Roman general then warring in Britain, who was assured that, for the subjugation of Ireland, one legion, which consisted of between six and seven thousand men, would, with a few auxiliary troops, be fully sufficient. Thus, though the ports of this island were in that age, according to the same authority, which is in this case supposed erroneous, more frequented by merchants than those of Britain, which might seem to imply a less incivility of manners, yet disunion and distraction, found in later times to prevail among the Irish, prevailed in this early period, and probably never ceased from the first peopling of the country till its complete subjection to the English power. Orosius, a writer of the fifth century, has recorded that a body of Scythians, driven from Gallicia in Spain by the Roman emperor Constantine, chose Ireland for their asylum, where they found a kindred people, the Scyths or Scots; a testimony consonant with the results of laborious researches made elsewhere by the best of our antiquarian authors.

As the notices of ancient Ireland by Roman writers, though mostly clear and authoritative, are of too limited a nature to give more than very scanty information; so the accounts of the Irish, concerning the transactions of their country previous to the fifth century of the Christian era, tho' sufficiently copious, are of so romantic or fabulous a complexion, as to afford no certain light, and leave us to conjecture by extraneous aids. They are in great part manifest forgeries, fabricated, after the introduction of Christianity among the Irish, by monks and other such dreamers. Such accounts as

Fables,

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Songs.

may seem with any colour of probability to have a claim to be considered as founded in fact, must have been collected from the songs of the bards, the best vehicle for the conveyance of oral tradition. But the original matter of songs, unwritten and committed merely to memory, is liable, by interpolations and alterations, in a course of ages, to be inexplicably disguised, or irrecoverably lost. Such I suspect to be the case with the famous poems under the name of Ossian, concerning which an extraordinary imposition was attempted on the public, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, by James Mac Pherson, a Scottish writer. Of these, composed of Irish affairs, the most genuine, given by the ingenious Doctor Young, in the first volume of the Royal Irish Academy's transactions, appear to me to have received some interpolation so lately at least as the ninth, if not in the fifteenth, century.

Colonies.

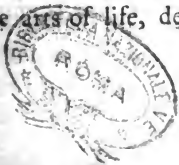
By the writers of our historical romances we are told, that five successive colonies arrived in Ireland, the followers of Partholanus, those of Nemedius, the Firbolgs, the Tuatha-de-Danans, and the Milesians. Of the third and fourth I have already spoken: the rest I consider as totally fabulous, and the name of Milesians a mere fabrication. These colonies, however, are said to have been Scythian; so that since the Celts, the aboriginal inhabitants, from whom the modern Irish derive, at least in some proportion, their blood and language, remain unnoticed by the writers even of romantic story, the opinion of the learned Pinkerton seems well founded, who asserts that the history of this country is only

only the history of the Goths in Ireland. Doubtless the language, as well as blood, has received a Gothic mixture. The Irish tongue, perhaps, beside the Welch, the only remaining dialect of the Celtic, is in great part composed of Gothic words, so disguised by adaptation to its peculiar form, that to discriminate what is genuinely Celtic is a matter of much difficulty. Such indeed is the corruption and instability of this language, confused with a jargon of strange dialects, destitute of any determinate rules of conjugation, declension, syntax, orthography, or pronunciation, uncertain in the meaning of old terms, and flexible to the purposes of systematic writers, that conclusions drawn from it in points of any importance in history ought not be admitted without the strictest caution.

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II.

Language.

From some sentences of the Punic, or Carthaginian language, the same with the Phœnician, ^{Imagined Punic origin.} preserved in a play of Plautus, a close affinity seems to have existed between this and the ancient Irish tongue, as may be seen in the defence of the ancient history of Ireland by Sir Lawrence Parsons. The fact would be extremely curious, if clearly ascertained, but not a proof, as has been supposed, that the Celtic inhabitants of this island were a Phœnician colony. We know that the highly polished languages of Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit, are closely allied one to another, and have a radical affinity with the ancient rude Scythian or Gothic; and we thence infer that the nations, who spoke those polished languages, were, though far superior in the arts of life, derived from the same origin with the



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the widely extended race of the Scythians. We also know that the Phœnicians, Arabs, and Chaldeans, all spoke dialects of one cultivated language, the Hebrew; and the Celtic tribes, howsoever barbarous, may have been originally of the same great race with these nations, and may have spread a thin colonization through the European nations by land and by wicker boats. The complexion and other corporal characteristics, ascribed to the Celts, rather favour than discountenance this hypothesis, for we find such in the Arab or Hebrew race. If commercial factories have ever been established on their coasts, and the Druidic religion introduced among the Irish, by the Phœnicians or Carthaginians, their language might have thus received some small addition of Punic roots. But if we could suppose, what indeed appears very far from probable, that the Druids had taught the Irish the use of letters and the Phœnician tongue, we might thence infer a much nearer assimilation of the written language of the Irish to the Punic. Thus, while the vulgar oral tongues of England and Scotland are distinctly different dialects of Gothic, the written language of the latter country is by adoption entirely English, by which also is occasioned a much nearer assimilation of the oral speech. No other than similarity of language could be admitted as a proof of identity of origin in the Irish and Phœnicians. Such arguments as that of brazen swords of the same kind, being found about Cannæ and in Ireland, are too futile to deserve any serious consideration; since, beside other circumstances, these weapons had been, long before the battle of Cannæ, superseded by swords

swords of steel among the Romans, Carthaginians, and other civilized nations.

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II.

Stories.

The romantic historians of our country have given us a list of a hundred and eighteen successive monarchs of Ireland, from Heremon, a son of the imaginary Milesius, to Laogaire in whose reign christianity here acquired an establishment. These are all, with very little exception, represented as having fallen by homicide hands, each by those of his immediate successor; whence may be inferred a tumultuary state of society and government in the times when the authors of these accounts lived, who might by natural consequence have no idea of any other. In the writings of these, and the songs of the bards, are some stories which appear to have allusions to facts, or some foundation in truth. Thus, in the first or second century of the christian era, when we have reason to believe that bands of Scandinavians had formed settlements in Ireland, we are told that Cairbre-Caitcan of the Damnonian race usurped the chief power by the slaughter of the ancient royal family; but after an interval of a few years the native princes are said to have recovered their former eminence of rank.

A domestic misfortune is said to have befallen Tuathal Teachtmair, a monarch the second in succession from Cairbre Caitcan, which entailed a punishment on a large portion of the island. Eochaid, king of Leinster married to a daughter of this monarch, contrived by perfidy to gain a sister of his queen to the indulgence of his criminal passion, which occasioned by grief the death of both these ladies. Their
incensed

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incensed father had recourse to arms, and imposed on the country of Leinster, for the crime of its chief, a perpetual fine, called the Baromean tribute, which was ordered to be paid every second year, and to consist of a certain number of cows, hogs, sheep, copper cauldrons, mantles, and ounces of silver, some say six, others only three thousand. Whether Con of the hundred battles, a monarch so stiled from his numerous conflicts in civil warfare, had existence or not seems a doubtful point; but Fin Mac Comhal, the hero of Ossian's poems, appears to have been a formidable chieftain of Scandinavian ancestry, to have married a daughter of Cormac Longbeard, the king of Ireland, to have commanded a body of troops called Fiona-Erion, in the latter part of the third century, and to have raised fortresses for the defence or subjection of the natives.

The tribes in Ireland of Scandinavian descent appear to have split into two factions, the Clan-a-Morné and the Clan a Boiskene, the former thus denominated from a chief of that name, the latter from Boiskene one of the ancestors of the hero Fin. This hero is supposed to have prevailed on the two factions to suspend their mutual animosities, and to unite with the aborigines for the protection of the country against new invaders. After his decease the colonists, under the conduct of his son Oshin, aided by fresh bands of adventurers from Scythia, which then comprehended the Scandinavian regions and Germany, appear to have renewed their hostilities against the aborigines, in the reign of Cairbre

Cairbre Liffeachair, son of Cormac Longbeard. In these contests the ancient Irish are supposed to have in some degree balanced the superior arms and discipline of their enemies by their numbers, their extraordinary swiftness, and the fastnesses of their bogs and woods. Perhaps also the disunion and distractions of the aboriginals were balanced by the factions of their opponents under various leaders from various parts of the continent. The main forces of the two parties, the Scandinavians under Oscar, son of Oshin and grandson of the great Fin, the Irish under a prince of Leinster, are said to have at length, in the fourth century, come to a pitched battle in the plains of Ardratho, where victory declared in favour of the latter, which at that time prevented the subjugation of Ireland. Though the colonists continued masters of the ports and coasts, the Irish princes appear to have regained considerable power in the interior parts, especially if we believe the story of one, who, in the latter part of the fourth century, is reported to have been so successful in the subduing of chieftains, and in the reception of pledges of obedience, that he had the title conferred on him of Nial of the Nine Hostages.

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Religion of the ancient Irish—Druidism—Letters—Christianity—Saint Patrick—Iland of Saints—ancient government of Ireland—Laws—Brehons—Manners—Raths—Duns—Hospitality—Cosbering—Fosterage—Bards—Food—Habits—History—Laogaire—Hugh Mac Ainmer—Columb-Cill—Congalt—Clergy burned.

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III.

Religion.

WHAT species of paganism prevailed among the ancient Irish is uncertain. Druidism, the religion of the Gauls and Britons, more especially the latter, before the conquest of these nations by the Romans, is reported in our traditional histories to have had place in Ireland, which appears not improbable. Of the druidic system, which may have been imported by the Phœnicians from the East, and of which accounts are given by some writers of more learning and vanity than judgment or love of truth, very little is actually known, and that little can be collected only from Greek and Roman writers. It was doubtless a system of profound mystery. Its priests designated by the name of *druids*, were forbidden by the inviolable rules of their institution to divulge to the laity any of their dogmas, or to commit to writing any part of their doctrines, which were composed in verses merely oral, and treasured in the memory by a tedious course of study. Their places of worship were lonely groves, awful to the vulgar by gloomy shades and religious consecration. For the oak tree they

they enjoined a peculiar veneration. Over the laity, consigned to intellectual darkness, they exercised a formidable sway by the power of excommunication and other modes of punishment. On their altars they offered bloody sacrifices, and among the victims were frequently men commonly such as were condemned for supposed or real crimes. Among them was said to be maintained a regular gradation of ranks, or kind of hierarchy, terminating in an arch-druid, the president of all. To the vulgar they communicated some instructions of a moral nature; and, to inspire them with courage in battle, are said to have given them, in the doctrine of the metempsychosis, some idea of the soul's immortality. Inclosures of upright stones ranged in circles, which are found in Ireland, as in the neighbouring countries, are conjectured, without grounds, to have been made for the purpose of druidic worship, and to have survived the destruction of the sacred groves, in the centres of which they had originally stood. Others with more seeming probability imagine these works to have been erected, at once for sacred and civil ceremonies, by Gothic tribes, whose rites became intermixed with those of the Celts.

That letters were not unknown to the Gallic druids, though their use was prohibited, in subjects of religion, we are informed by a text in the commentaries of Cæsar, but a text long suspected of being spurious, the interpolation of Julius Cæsar. If the Irish druids were acquainted with letters, the knowledge of them probably, like that of their sacred mysteries, was confined entirely to druidical minds,

Letters.

since

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since we have no shadow of proof that the Irish were acquainted with any alphabet before the introduction among them of the Roman characters. The characters, in which the Irish language is written, only seventeen in number, are evidently of Roman form, transposed into a new alphabet under the name of *bethluisnion*, a compound of the names of its three first letters. Other marks or symbols formerly in use, termed *Ogum* or *Ogham* characters, were only affectedly obscure, or pedantic modes of writing, formed by a corruption of the Roman letters, like the runic figures of the Scandinavians. Generally people in a state of lettered barbarism, like the modern Turks, are observed to affect a perplexed manner of writing, preferring in several cases obscurity to perspicuity.

Christianity
introduced.

The propagation of christianity in this island, which appears from some circumstances, particularly two allusive expressions of Saint Jerome, to have had place at least as early as the fourth century, made a grand epoch in its history, as, together with some knowledge of divine revelation, the use of letters was introduced among the Irish. Of the time exactly when, and of the persons by whom, the inhabitants of Ireland first received the illumination of the Gospel, we cannot find more certain information than when and by whom the people of Britain, or of any other country in Europe, were first enlightened by its communication. We find the names, most probably fictitious, of Albe, Declan, Ibar, and Kieran, mentioned as precursors of Saint Patrick, who has been supposed the great apostle of the Irish, to have
come

come among them in the year 432, and to have effected the great work of their conversion. The stories related of this apostle, whatever dates are severally affixed to them, are doubtless legendary tales, or theological romances, fabricated four centuries after his imaginary existence. He is mentioned in no writing of authentic date anterior to the ninth century, a period replete with forged lives of saints; while, beside the persuasive silence of other documents, he is quite unnoticed by Beda, Cogitosus, Adamnan, and Cummean, ecclesiastic writers of the intermediate time, who could not have omitted the name of so great a missionary, if it had ever reached them. The accounts transmitted to us of the acts of Saint Patrick bear all the marks of legendary fiction, and appear no better founded than those of other fabulous champions of the church, whose tutelage, as patron saints, has been severally adopted, from the custom of the times, by the christian nations of Europe in the dark ages.

Whoever were the happy instruments in the planting of christianity in Ireland, their progress appears to have been slow in the conversion of the natives. So lately as the end of the sixth century paganism subsisted, perhaps predominated, in this country. Soon after this period, however, a universal, at least a general, adoption of the Christian rites took place among the Irish. The change was very probably completed by the clergy of South-Britain, who took refuge in Ireland from the fury of the Anglo-Saxon pagans, the conquerors of their country. So many monasteries and seminaries of learning were here founded

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founded, among a people, who, however barbarous in other respects, revered with pious awe the sanctity of religious establishments, that the country, about this time, acquired, and long afterward retained; the glorious title of the *Island of Saints and Scholars*. The pre-eminence of Ireland in literature among the nations of Europe, in the dark or middle ages, was occasioned not only by the safety of the asylum found by men of a contemplative turn, during the confusions of the continent, in this sequestered ile, but also by the discouragement given to free enquiry and knowledge, as far as his influence extended, by the Roman pontiff, for the promotion of his scheme of spiritual dominion, for which he knew ignorance to be the most powerful auxiliary. Ceremonies of pagan worship still remained amid the christian rites of the Irish, particularly the religious use of fire, of which a memorial subsists in the present time, the declining practice of lighting bonfires in the eve preceding the twenty-fourth of June. A perpetual fire like that of the Roman Vesta, was continued at Kildare, at least till near the end of the twelfth century, preserved by the nuns of Saint Bridget, the successors of druidesses, to whom in earlier times that sacred charge had been committed.

Though the monasteries of Ireland were sanctuaries of learning, and of the best kinds of learning which were cultivated in Europe in these dark ages, yet literature was confined to the monasteries, which are in their very nature detached from society, and had very little influence on the mass of the people, who doubtless remained immersed in barbarism; yet who,

in

In their bloody intestine commotions, religiously respected these asylums of piety; for the Irish appear to have been in every period strongly affected with religious zeal. Of their government and manners in remoter ages we can only form a judgment from the state in which we find them after their adoption of christianity, and of this we can form consistently with truth no favourable representation.

The most ancient form of government, which can be traced in Ireland, was that of an indefinite or uncertain number, six, seven, or more, of chiefs, princes or provincial kings, among whom whoever gained the supreme ascendancy arrogated for the time the title of king of Ireland, *ard-riagh*, or supreme monarch, receiving a kind of homage, and, where he could enforce the payment, exacting a tribute from the rest. Of a regular pentarchy, or political system of not more than five provincial kings under the command of one sovereign monarch, which is asserted by our compilers of romantic story to have been the ancient government of this island, no evidence can be found. Under each of these princes, whatever was their number, were several subordinate lords or toparchs, styled also *riaghs* or kings, who rendered to him in like manner fealty and tribute as he to the sovereign. So numerous were these, that the principality of Munster alone contained eighteen. Subordinate again to each toparch were other chieftains or feudatories, called *tiarnas* and *canispinies*, heads of inferior clans, who obeyed or disobeyed their superiors, as they felt themselves prompted by convenience or caprice. For the support
of

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of the supreme ruler, presiding over the whole collection of dynasties, the country of Meath, consisting of the modern counties of East and West-Meath, is said to have been appropriated as his peculiar domain; in the second century, in the reign of Tuathal: but if such appropriation ever had place, it appears to have never been regularly maintained, and is acknowledged to have at length entirely lost existence.

We are informed by our historians that in the succession to the monarchy two main points drew attention, *hereditary right*, and *the election of the people*. The right of election was vested in the people, but their choice was confined to a particular family; or in other words the monarchy was "*elective as to the person, but hereditary as to the blood*." These principles, so jarring, were perpetual sources of discord and contention, which could only be composed by the strongest hand." Accordingly we find that out of a long line of near two hundred Irish monarchs, scarce two in immediate succession, nor above thirty in all, have died a natural death. "As a remedy for these inconveniences, which necessarily adhered to this rude form; it was customary to elect the next most worthy of the same blood, whom they called *Roidamna*, and whose destination was to ease the sovereign of some of the cares of royalty during his life, and to succeed to the throne at his death. But however this might mitigate, it did not cure the malady: for sometimes the roydamna took arms against the monarch, and sometimes both of them fell victims to some more potent faction."* This mode of
succession

* Campbell's *Sketches*. 324.

succession appears to have been universal in the system of Irish government; successors termed *thainists* or *ianists* being in similar manner chosen for the subordinate kings and toparchs.

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Such a constitution seems "calculated only for a people whose various tribes or septs were perpetually at war with each other, and who were not willing to dispense, even for a day, with the want of a general to lead them to battle." In the eighth century a new order of succession is said to have taken place, an alternate election from two royal families of the Hy Nial race, the northern of Tyrone, and the southern called Clan Colman seated in Meath. This had a natural tendency to augment still farther the factions of the various tribes. An attentive and full view of the subject leads us to conclude that the "epitome of the civil history of ancient Ireland is briefly this: Divided and subdivided into a multitude of petty states, connected together by no bond of political union, cemented by no sense of common interest," the Irish were incessantly distracted with intestine wars, and "the body of the people were the abject dependants of an uncertain set of barbarous chieftains, who used their wretched followers as the determined tools of their beggarly, yet bloody ambition."* We are told that, for the maintenance of regular government throughout the island, a triennial assembly of all the kings and chief nobility, termed the *Fes*, was anciently instituted, and for ages held, at the hill of Tarah in Meath; and that, for the promotion of mutual intercourse and civility of manners, great

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games

* Campbell, 12, 201.

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games were annually celebrated, about the first of August, in the plains of Tailtean in the same country: but if such boasted games and political assemblies ever had existence in an extensive sense, we have no reason to believe their continuance to have been long, or their effects considerable.

Laws.

Laws in the Irish tongue are found written in a stile so obscure, even unintelligible, that thence, and from other circumstances, they are considered by some as of great antiquity; while others, from certain marks, regard their compilation as of so modern a date as times posterior to the English invasion. The laws themselves, however, appear to have been in great part ancient, and to have been orally transmitted through successive generations in a confraternity of hereditary judges, termed *brehons*, who sat in the open air for the decision of causes, and whose decrees were highly respected by the people. From this respect, without which the judgments of the *brehons* must have been fruitless in so divided and tumultuary a state of government, and still more from other circumstances, the Irish have been pronounced by Lord Coke and Sir John Davis *the greatest lovers of justice*. Their laws, however, though in many cases minute and equitable, were not calculated, even with a most regular and steady execution, to produce a well regulated system of society; since no crime, howsoever atrocious, was punishable with death, but only by a fine called *eric*, which was adjusted by established rule to the nature of the offence.

Some

Some practices inveterately sanctioned by custom, among the Irish and acting with the utmost force of established laws, co-operated with the disorders of anarchy, or fluctuating government, to the prevention of improvement in their lands and manners. Among these was the mode of distribution, which, precluding all stability in the possession of land, withheld all incentives for the exertions of industry. On the death of any man, the moveable inheritance was equally divided among all his sons, without distinction of legitimate or illegitimate; and, in failure of sons, among the next male heirs, to the total exclusion of the females. When a tribe or community lost one of its members by death or otherwise, a new distribution was made of all the lands of the district, among the families of the tribe; for no where among the Irish could the right of tenure survive the possessor: "and as the crimes or misfortunes of men frequently forced them from one tribe to another, property was eternally fluctuating, and new partitions of lands made almost daily. Hence the cultivation of grounds was only in proportion to the immediate demands of nature, and the tributes to be paid to superiors."* From this custom of gavel kind we find one exception. The mensal land, appropriated to the maintenance of the taniist, descended whole to his successor.

In such a state of civil society, we may well suppose rudeness in manners and modes of living. All ranks, even princes, dwelt in gloomy cabins, framed slightly of hurdles, and plastered with clay. About the

Manners,

* Leland's History of Ireland, Preliminary discourse, 34.

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III.

center of the district, inhabited by a clan or sept, stood the dwelling of its chief, within a fortified inclosure called a *rath*, into which the clan retired in emergencies of danger. These raths, environed sometimes with a wall, commonly with a trench or trenches, furnished frequently with subterraneous chambers and sallyports, and situated always on elevated grounds, were various in dimensions, proportioned to the power and property of the toparch, some having a diameter of only ten or fifteen yards, others an area of eighteen or twenty English acres. The smaller species of these rude bulwarks, denominated *raheens* in modern Irish; appear to have been stations of smaller clans, or subdivisions of a sept. We find also fortresses under the name of *duns*, originally seated on insulated rocks, but understood in the vulgar and promiscuous use of the term as elevated forts either of rock or of earth.

From the multitude of raths we might naturally imagine a numerous population formerly in Ireland, if we were not apprised that such is inconsistent with a scanty agriculture, and that great numbers of raths may have been unoccupied, since the migration of septs from district to district, as of individuals from sept to sept, was not unusual. As hospitality, however liable to abuse, is a necessary virtue among a barbarous people, where no inns are afforded for the accommodation of travellers, the brehon laws enjoined that the occupiers of a rath should not be too sudden in the act of migration, lest the traveller should be disappointed of his expected entertainment. Such provisions as the traveller might suppose his due by right

right of hospitality were exacted, under the title of *cofhering* and other denominations by right of legalized, but irregularly exercised authority, by the chief and his attendants, who lived at free quarter on the people. Fosterage also was a custom prevalent among the Irish. By bargains of interchange among parents, children of different families and ranks were educated together as brothers. Hence the parties were connected by so close a tie, that the members of the fostering family and the fosterling considered themselves as mutually bound to support one another in every quarrel without regard to justice. Of similar nature were the effects of Gossipred, which the Irish above all other people regarded in a light religious and obligatory.

In the disordered state of society among the Irish, where lawless force prevailed, Leland, our estimable historian, tells us that “a robust frame of body, a vehemence of passion, an elevated imagination, were the characteristics of the people. Noble instances of valour, generous effusions of benevolence, ardent resentments, desperate and vindictive outrages, abound in their annals,” and, he might have added, horrible instances of treachery and breach of oaths. To verse and music, like the Scandinavian Goths, they were extravagantly addicted. The acknowledged excellence of the Irish in music, whence the harp was chosen for the ensign of Ireland by Henry the eighth, is with strong probability believed to have been derived from the Greeks, who brought into this country the ceremonies of christian worship. The bards and musicians, who, by efforts of art or genius, delighted the

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the fancies and fired the passions, of the people, were held in veneration. These artists availed themselves of their influence to render their profession hereditary, and to appropriate to it large portions of land. Since they are said to have engrossed a third of the national property, and by their numbers and exactions to have raised a general alarm in the sixth century, we may well suppose that under the same class were comprehended the historians or genealogists, called *seanachies*, who noted the exploits and lineage of their patrons.

Food.

As, from the instability of tenures in land, agriculture among the ancient Irish was very limited, their food consisted chiefly in the milk and flesh of their cattle, to which were often added wild herbs of several kinds, as water-creffes and sorrel. The milk was variously modified. I have seen, when a boy, a family dining on curds and butter, a piece of the latter being laid on each spoonful of the former, which was recommended as an ancient and most wholesome food by a priest who was one of the company. Wild swine, abundant in the forests of oak, which covered the land in great proportion, constituted a much esteemed part of the animal food. From the improper use of such aliments, bad cookery, or want of correctives, the leprosy was frequent. Corn, instead of being threshed, was freed by fire from the husks and straw, was pounded and boiled, or ground with a handmill, and the bread baked in cakes under embers, or on an iron plate called griddle. The chief beverage was mead, on which account the pre-

servation

ervation of bees was a particular object in the Bre-hon laws.

The dress of the ancient Irish has been best investigated by Walker and Ledwich, more especially the latter, whose book on the antiquities of Ireland is a most valuable performance. A mantle or short cloak, originally of skin, afterward of cloth, composed, for ornament, of stripes of different colours sewed together, was enlarged in later times into a long cloak; and a hood, attached to the mantle was exchanged for a conical cap. A jacket, called *fallin*, and trowsers descending to the feet, were worn, except by the poorer sort, who seem to have been naked below. As their sheep were mostly of the black sort, their garments were generally dark, except the trowsers, which were often yellow. Of the same dye was the shirt, when such was worn, wide with large folds and sleeves of great size. The shoe seems to have been only a piece of unsewed leather, tied on the foot by a thong, such as we find still in use among the Livonians and some others in the north of Europe. The beard was long, at least on the upper lip; and a great bunch of hair over the forehead, called *Glibb* or *cooleen*, was thrown into various forms, and tended to give a ferocity of aspect.

Variations in dress and other matters were introduced by the Danes and other foreigners, of whose transactions in Ireland, as of those of the natives, our accounts are obscure. We are furnished with the names of thirty kings of Ireland reigning in succession from Laogaire, the first christian monarch, to Hugh Dorndighe, or Donchad Mac Domnail, in whose

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whose time the kingdom was miserably ravaged by formidable bands of Danish invaders, who soon rendered themselves masters of most of the country. Of the acts of these princes, or the events of this period, very little is recorded, except the violent deaths, with which almost all the reigns concluded. Of Laogaire himself, who entered on the regal function in the year 428, no favourable account, notwithstanding his conversion to christianity, is given. Defeated and taken prisoner by the people of Leinster, in his invasion of their country to enforce the payment of the Baromean tax, and released on his renunciation of that claim for ever under a solemn oath, he violated his engagement, and fell in another battle by the swords of the Leinstrians, or, as others report, by lightning, an instrument of divine vengeance.

To provide a remedy against the alarming numbers, insolence, and exactions of the bards, a great assembly of the princes, nobles, and clergy of Ireland was in 568 convened at Drumceat, by Hugh Mac Ainmer the monarch, who was opposed in his design by a famous monk named Columb-cill. This advocate of the bards, most of whom we must suppose from this occurrence to have been converts to christianity, prevailed in the assembly, perhaps not less by the terror of temporal arms than of spiritual, since he had been a warrior, to prevent any measures of a severer kind than the reduction of their numbers. Monkish influence was not on all occasions attended with such effects. Congall, who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century, is said to have so
persecuted

persecuted the ministers of the christian faith as to
commit alive to the flames both secular and regular
clergy at Kildare. From this and other instances
we have reason to believe that the universal conver-
sion of the Irish to the Gospel was not so early as
has been commonly supposed. Nothing further in
the civil history of Ireland occurs worth our notice
till the great invasion of the Danes in the ninth
century.

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C H A P. IV.

Danes—Charlemagne—Turgesius or Thorgils—Am-lave, Sitrick, and Ivar—Danish Invaders of Ireland, comparatively few in number—Last Kings of Ireland—Cormac Mac Cuillenan—Brian Boro—Battle of Clontarf—Mortough O'Brian—Magnus—Learning—Scholars—Columbanus, &c.—Virgilius Solivagus—Mean bigotry—Johannes Scotus Eri-gena, &c.—Historical Records of Ireland—Psal-ter of Cashel, &c.—Ecclesiastical History—Cul-dees—Bishops, &c.

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Danes.

IN ages anterior to the birth of Christ, the regi-
ons about the Baltic had been peopled by Scandi-
navian Goths, who early adopted habits of maritime
adventure. Colonists of this race under the name
of Scots, as I have already observed, were, at least
so soon as the fourth century of the Christian era,
possessed of so conspicuous a power in Ireland as to
have acquired to it the appellation of Scotia or
Scotland, an appellation in later times transferred
and appropriated to another country. Armaments
of Scandinavians, in the decline of Roman power,
infested the coasts of European countries with pre-
datory visits; but, after their conquest of South
Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries, which for
some time served as a drain for their superfluous
numbers, or for the individuals of their tribes most
prone to adventure or emigration, we hear little
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more of their barbarous exploits till the latter part of the eighth century, when we again find Britain, Ireland, and France alarmed by their naval expeditions and inroads. CHAP.
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From the violences committed by the Franks or French under Charlemagne, who, in the course of his extensive conquests, from the year 768 to 814, put all pagans to the sword who refused to receive the rite of Christian baptism, the most obstinate and adventurous of the Saxons, a numerous and fierce people inhabiting the northern parts of modern Germany, took refuge among the Scandinavians, whom they incited to renew the piratical warfare of their predecessors. From the concluding part of the eighth to the beginning of the eleventh century, the maritime parts of western Europe, especially South Britain and the northern French provinces, were miserably afflicted by the sanguinary depredations of Scandinavian bands, under the names of Danes, Normans, Ostmen or Easterlings, who, ascending the rivers in their fleets of light vessels, laid waste the country, wherever they came, with fire and sword, most mercilessly butchering the inhabitants, without regard to sex or age, and bearing away the plunder. In history we find recorded no people more desperately ferocious. Implacably detesting the professors of the Christian faith, particularly the clergy, on account of the bloody persecutions of Charlemagne, they were besides inspired by the tenets of their pagan superstition with a thirst of slaughter and a contempt of death. The great object of their worship was Woden, the imaginary God of war,
into

CHAP. into whose paradise admission could be obtained not
 IV. otherwise than by hardy deeds of bloodshed. To die by other means than the stroke of warlike weapons was accounted so disgraceful, that warriors, in danger of departure by disease, procured a violent death by the hands of their friends. To assail two enemies at once, to receive with firmness the attack of three, to retire only one step from four, and to retreat from no fewer than five, was the martial rule, or point of honour, with a Danish champion. Of the dauntless and sanguinary spirit of these northern rovers the reader may see an illustration in Bartholin's *causa contemptæ a Danis mortis*.

Historical accounts of the Irish in this period, obscure in general, seem written in respect of Danish transactions with a studied obscurity, as if the writers intended to conceal from posterity the conquests of these invaders. Facts contradictory one to another are frequent in these narrations; but on a collective consideration of the whole we observe the Danish intruders establishing themselves in the permanent possession of the ports and coasts, while a confused and desultory warfare is maintained between them and the Irish, between chieftains of the latter in domestic discord, and sometimes between parties of the invaders themselves, as auxiliars to Irish princes, or in contest for property. The first visit recorded of the Danes to the coasts of Ireland was in 795. The landings of several ravaging parties are afterwards noticed; but the great invasion was about the year 815, under Turgesius, Torgis, or Thorgils, a Norwegian adventurer, who in the course of thirty

Thorgils.

thirty years laid waste the greater part of the island. The chief objects of spoil with these barbarous marauders were the monasteries and seminaries of learning, and the most devoted objects of their brutal rage the clergy. Resolving at length to reign over the country which he had plundered, Torgis assumed the state and title of king of Ireland; but, by some contrivance not authentically related, he was seized and put to death by Maolseaghlin, Melaghlin, or Malachy, king of Meath; and the Irish, rising in great force, probably by previous concert, obliged the Ostmen to retire from the interior of the kingdom.

About the year 853, some fresh troops of East-
Amlave.
terlings arrived in Ireland under the conduct of Amlave, Sitrick, and Ivar, which augmented so much the force of this people, that the conquest of the country might have perhaps been effected, if such had been their object with united efforts; but they appear to have been diverted by expeditions elsewhere, particularly to South-Britain. Doubtless the Danes, who invaded Ireland, were at all times comparatively in small numbers, the poverty of the natives, little practised in agriculture, or in any pursuit of industry, affording few attractions to avarice, beside the furniture of religious houses. The main force of these piratical adventurers was poured into France and Britain, where they made enormous havock and extensive conquests. Except in Ulster, where Armagh was for years their principal post, their power seems never to have been firmly established, even in the time of Torgis, in the interior of
this

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this island; and their force, like that of the Irish, appears to have been mostly in a state of disunion under several independent leaders. Possessed of the maritime towns, particularly Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, either built by themselves or by more early emigrants from the Scandinavian regions, they gradually adopted a more settled mode of life, especially after their conversion to the Christian worship in the middle of the tenth, or, according to Ledwich, the ninth century, exchanging their piratical habits for those of commercial navigation; but irregular wars continued still occasionally to subsist between the Irish chiefs and the Danish communities, of which the greatest was Dublin, whose principal magistrate was frequently stiled king, sometimes king of Ireland, by foreigners.

Kings.

The Danish lords of Dublin were never acknowledged as monarchs of their country by the Irish. Of the kings of Ireland, from Hugh Dorndighe, already mentioned, called also Edan Ornaid, to Roderick O'Connor, the last Irish monarch of this island, we have a list of seventeen in succession, of whom few transactions worth our notice are found recorded. Melaghlin, prince of Meath, who formed a league against the Norwegian Torgis, was on the death of that invader elected sovereign; and after some successful efforts to prevent the subjugation of his country, died by natural decease, a lot unfrequent with Irish princes. In the reign of Flan Sionna flourished Cormac Mac Cuillenan, at once archbishop of Cashel and king of Munster, the reputed author of a famous historical composition called the

the *Psalter of Cashel*. This ecclesiastical ruler, who commenced his reign in the first year of the tenth century, extravagantly praised, with little appearance of truth, by monkish writers, is reported to have lost his life in a battle against the people of Leinster and the Danes of Dublin, in an attempt to levy the Baromean tax. In the beginning of the eleventh century, Brien king of Munster, surnamed Boiroidmhe or Boro, acquired a reputation so high, and an influence so powerful, as to be enabled to render himself monarch of Ireland in the place of Melaghlin the second, whom he dethroned. This warlike prince, excessively praised for legislative as well as military talents, fell in battle against the Danes and people of Leinster, at Clontarf near Dublin, on the twenty-third of April, in the year 1014, the most famous battle in Irish history before the English invasion, in which the victory is commonly supposed to have been gained by the army of Brien, but may probably have been in favour of his enemies, or at least indecisive.

Melaghlin, who, by Brien Boro's usurpation, had been reduced to his principality of Meath, resumed his place as monarch of Ireland on the death of that warrior; but, after Melaghlin's decease, the family of Brien acquired the ascendancy to the exclusion of the Hy Nial race from the sovereign throne. In the reign of Moriartach, or Mortough O'Brien, a prince of this family, Ireland is said to have been in no small danger of being conquered by the Norwegians. Magnus, king of Norway, having seized the isles of Man and Orkneys, is with probability

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probability reported to have resolved on the conquest of this country, and, sending his shoes to Mortough with orders to carry them on his shoulders in acknowledgment of subjection, to have followed in person with a formidable armament in the year 1104; but to have been circumvented and slain by the Irish in Ulster, as he was rashly advancing before the main body of his forces with a small reconnoitering party. After this we hear no more of attempts on this island by the Scandinavians, whose marauding bands had been so terrible formerly to the Irish under various names, as those of Duff-Galls and Fin-Galls, black and white foreigners, epithets bestowed for qualities real or imaginary, of which we can only make uncertain conjectures. The descendants of Ostman adventurers, now natives and established inhabitants of Ireland, were become its most firm defenders against invasion from every quarter; but their disunion would probably have rendered them too weak for so formidable a force as that of Magnus.

Scholars.

By the devastations of the Danes in the ninth century, sad havock was made of religious houses and seminaries of learning, which, though doubtless very homely in structure and accommodations, were so high in celebrity as to be frequented for instruction by considerable numbers from Britain and the continent. These numbers have indeed been so exaggerated beyond all rational belief, by monkish writers, that the university of Armagh is reported to have contained at once seven thousand students, and that of Lismore a still greater multitude. From
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the schools of Ireland, however, proceeded many saints and scholars, particularly many natives eminent in literature for the times in which they lived, most of whom, as has been the general fate of Irishmen, flourished or found patronage only in foreign countries. Of these I shall mention a few in chronological order to exemplify in some degree this part of my subject. Their names are often latinized, as the accounts concerning them were originally written in the latin language.

In the middle of the sixth century flourished Saint Columba, or Columb-Cill, who, founding a monastery at Derry, and becoming the apostle of the North-Britons, established in the ile of Hy,† one of the Hebrides, a celebrated Abbey, whence was disseminated for near two hundred years, whatever was known of Christianity and letters in the northern parts of Britain, including Northumberland. In the same century we find Saint Canice, the patron Saint of Kilkenny, who wrote the life of Saint Columba with Hymns in his praise.

In the seventh century, beside a number of other fainted men, as Aidan, Cummian, Colman, Kilian, Jonas, Adamnanus, flourished Columbanus, a monk of Bangor, in the county of Down, famous for piety and learning, who, beside some pleasing poems, wrote various works in prose in defence of the old observation of Easter and on other subjects, and founded in the French province of Burgundy the monasteries of Luxeuil and Fontaine, after that of Bangor in Britain,

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† See Gordon's *Terræquea*, vol. 3. p. 346, 347.

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tain, which is also said to have been founded by him.

The glory of Irish literature in the eighth century was Virgilius Solivagus, who by his erudition and sanctity acquired the notice of Pepin, king of the Franks, together with the bishoprick of Saltzburgg; but who, by his perspicuous research in the discovery of the real figure of the Earth, and his benevolent love of truth in the publication of that discovery, brought on himself degradation from the ignorant pope Zachary, one of the *infallible* successors of Saint Peter. This truly great man was however canonized, five hundred years after, by pope Gregory the ninth. *Thus are, in all ages, men of superior knowledge, benevolence, and candour, envied by the ungenerous, traduced by sycophants, persecuted by men contemptible in understanding but formidable in power, and, after their deaths, revered, and followed in opinion, by the judicious and well-informed.* The same century gave birth to Sedulius Scotigena, sometimes distinguished by the epithet of Secundus, whose writings, worthy of a more enlightened age, were unfavourable to the high superiority claimed by the pope, and quite inimical to the worship of images.

In the ninth century, when so many seminaries of this island were desolated by Danish depredation, the honour of Irish literature was maintained in foreign countries by her native students, particularly by Albinus, Clement, and Johannes Scotus Erigena. The two former, patronized by the emperor Charlemagne, became the first professors of the famous universities of Paris and Pavia. The last, much favoured

favoured in the French court of Charles the bald, and afterwards invited into England by Alfred the Great for a professorship in the university of Oxford, eminent in store of reading, brilliancy of wit, and solidity of judgment, was author of some works held in high reputation, as a *Treatise de Divisione Naturæ*, a polemical discourse against the doctrine of transubstantiation, and a translation of the Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite.

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That these men of literature have left us no works on the history of their country, is a matter of great regret, since from this neglect our annals and records of those times are meagre and obscure to a lamentable degree. They are besides mostly written in an older style of the Irish tongue than is generally at this day understood. The most ancient piece now extant of Irish history bears the date of the tenth century, styled the *Psalter of Cashel*, as being written in verse, and ascribed to the pen of Cormac Macuillenan, archbishop of Cashel and king of Munster. Next in reputation is the book of Howth, containing a short chronicle of transactions from the year 432. The annals of Tigernagh, an ecclesiastic of Clonmacnoise, end properly at his death in 1088, but are continued under his name by other hands. The annals of Innisfallen, composed by the monks of a monastery, in an island of that name in the lake of Killarney, contain a history of transactions from 250 to 1320. These have been translated by Theophilus O'Flanagan, a literary gentleman, eminent in the knowledge of the Irish tongue, who keeps an academy at Black-

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rock near Dublin. A condensed compilation of detached and confused chronicles is the annals of the four masters, said to have been written, toward the end of the seventeenth century, by four monks of Donegal, who seem, however, not to have been acquainted with the annals of Innisfallen. Many other pieces of Irish literature are found, from which, and from all other documents, very little of a satisfactory nature has been extracted concerning the ancient civil history of this island by men best acquainted with the Irish tongue, and most zealous for the false glory of their nation's antiquity. The illustrious Henry Flood, the greatest orator and statesman of Ireland, bequeathed in 1790 an estate in reversion to the university of Dublin, for the maintenance of a professorship of the Irish tongue, and the purchase of books in that language, wheresoever procurable. I lament that, from legal defects, the design of this bequest was frustrated, on which Sir Lawrence Parsons has written a learned, ingenious, and pleasing dissertation, since a full trial might have thereby been given how far genuine history might thence derive benefit. Little otherwise concerning ancient Ireland seems discoverable beyond what is contained in the history of Geoffry Keating, which was compiled about the year 1626, from fables confessedly not believed by himself, and which is said to have been unfairly translated from the original Irish into English, for the purpose of favouring a particular system.

Church. Of the ecclesiastical history of Ireland we are better informed. Its church long supported an independence

pendence from papal jurisdiction, together with a celebrity for the culture of letters. Whether its founders had come from the neighbouring island of Great Britain, or immediately from the remote regions of Greece and the East, it resembled the early Greek church in rites and discipline, and remained long uncontaminated by the innovations of Rome. It maintained not however a uniformity of worship. Almost every diocese had a particular liturgy; and even the several congregations were frequently found to differ "in rites, modes, and offices of public devotion."† Nor, though it retained much of the early purity of the Christian doctrines, was it free from superstition. For instance, the belief of a local purgatory was authorized, and a cave in an island of Lough Dyerg, in the county of Donegal, in a most wild and dreary situation, chosen for the scene. The contrivance of this deception is attributed to Patrick, Abbot of Armagh, who lived in the latter part of the ninth century; and from him the appellation of *Patrick's Purgatory*, given to the place, is supposed to have been derived.

The first attempt of the Roman pontiff to subjugate the church of Ireland was in the year 1127, when Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, an Ostman, who had written a book in favour of the Roman ritual, received the commission of legate from his Holiness; but seems not to have exercised any jurisdiction among his compatriots in virtue of that authority. Afterward Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, who

† Campbell's *Strictures*, 97.

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who died in 1148, laboured in the legatine character, with little success, for the subjection of his country to the spiritual dominion of Rome. In the year 1152, in a council of the Irish clergy, summoned by cardinal Paparon, legate *a latere* of Pope Eugenius the third, and convened at Kells, the supremacy of the Roman pontiff was, for the first time, solemnly recognized in Ireland. Notwithstanding this recognition, the rituals of the various congregations remained without uniformity till the invasion of the country by Henry the second of England, in the twelfth century.

The claim of spiritual dominion, advanced by the high priest of Rome, more easily gained ground in Ireland by the Danish colonists of Dublin and other cities, who at different times, particularly in the ninth and tenth centuries, had been converted to Christianity according to the rites of the English church, the same with those of the Roman, and who had endeavoured, even by fire and sword, to convert the Irish Christians to the Romish communion; yet in all the plenitude of papal domination, a faint remnant of the old Irish church long survived in the degraded remains of the *Culdees*, an order of monks eminently distinguished by learning and christian purity, founded in Ireland by Saint Columba in the sixth century, and thence propagated into the northern parts of Britain, but having its chief establishment in the Hebride island of Iona or Hy. The intolerance of Roman bigotry, which early took root in Britain, expelled them from their monasteries in

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that island ; but in Ireland, as “ it was not easy to eradicate a reverence founded on solid piety, exemplary charity, and superior learning ; or to commit sudden violence on characters where such qualities were found,” they were treated with more lenity : seduction was employed instead of force ; and they continued, but in a corrupted and debased condition, to retain their name, and some lands, even so late as the year 1625. * The bigoted fury of the Christian Danes had been excited by the Romish clergy of England, who, from hatred to the Irish for their difference in religious rites, had instigated Egfrid, king of Northumberland, in 684, to send an army into Ireland, by which the most rueful havoc was committed.

That episcopacy was coeval with Christianity in this island, is highly probable ; but, until the arrival of the English, the number of our sees, the succession of our bishops, and ecclesiastical affairs in general, are involved in great obscurity. According to the mode of the Greek church, the episcopates or bishopricks were so small in extent, and so great in number, as probably to amount to about three hundred : but when the Roman pontiff, by means of the Danish invaders, gained influence in this island, and at length, by the English establishment, the actual supremacy of its church, a plan was gradually executed for the diminution of the number, and the augmentation of the extent of the sees, because the
fewness

* Ledwich's Antiquities, 55—69. first edit.

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fewness and encreased revenues of the prelates rendered the clergy more respectable, and the church more manageable by the pope and his legates. This project was of difficult execution and proceeded very slowly; because the chiefs of septs, whose families had enjoyed the patronage of sees, frequently resisted the papal authority in the abolition of this privilege by the suppression of an episcopate.

Most probably in Ireland, as elsewhere, the bishops were at first elected by their congregations, and afterwards, in the progress of clerical power, by exclusive corporations of the clergy, or the chapters of cathedrals where cathedrals were found. But when, from the wealth or power annexed to them, episcopates became an object of ambition, the toparchs would suffer none except men of their own families to come into election, so that episcopates were held by a kind of hereditary succession, similar to that of the toparchies themselves; that is, they were inheritances appropriated to certain families, not by lineal inheritance, but by apparent election, in which the electors had no freedom of choice. When the papal influence gained admission, and was, by the arms of the English, established in this country, this abuse was by degrees, not without many obstacles, ultimately removed.

Our parishes appear to have had their commencement with that of the dissolution of the smaller episcopates, in the year 1152, when in a general council, held at Kells, in Meath, under cardinal Paparon, a regulation was made, among other canons,
“ that

“ that on the death of a chorepiscopus, or village bishop, or of bishops who possessed small sees in Ireland, archipresbyters, or rural deans, should be appointed by the diocesans to succeed them, who should superintend the clergy and laity in their respective districts, and that each of their sees should be converted into a rural deanery.” * Since we find that in the thirteenth century, this regulation remained unexecuted, at least to any considerable degree, the parochial division of the dioceses of Ireland was doubtless not finally settled before a late period.

To discover from what source arose the revenues of the Irish clergy, in the early ages of the church, is not an easy matter. We have good grounds to believe that, even so late as the twelfth century, and even later, no tythes were paid in Ireland, the clergy subsisting on oblations, which, relatively to the national poverty in those days, were very large. “ Included in oblations were first fruits, which were paid in the early ages of Christianity. As to altarage, mortuary, and obventions, they seem to have been at length introduced into the Irish, as into other churches. The whole ecclesiastical revenue, to a late period, was divided into four parts. One went to the bishop, another to the clergy, a third to the poor, and the fourth supported the fabrick of the church and other uses.” † By a course of events of difficult investigation, tythes were acquired

* Ledwich, 394, 400. 1st edition.

† Ledwich, 400, 1st edition.

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quired by the clergy for their maintenance; beside tracts of land appropriated to the support of religious establishments, under the titles of *termon*, *corbe*, *herenagh* and other terms, the explanation of which I leave to writers whose object is more particularly the history of the church.

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CHAP. V.

Summary of the History of England—Celts—Belgians—Romans—Saxons—Heptarchy—Danes—Alfred—Canute—Normans—Henry the Second—Adrian's Bull—State of Ireland—Turlogh O'Connor—Dermot Mac Murchad—O'Loghlin—Roderic O'Connor—Summary of the History of Wales—Rice-ap-Griffith—Strongbow—Robert Fitzstephen—Maurice Fitzgerald—Return of Dermot—Skirmishes with O'Connor—Treaty of submission and peace.

THE name of Cassiterides, a name since confined to the isles of Scilly, seems to have belonged, in very remote ages, to the whole system of the British islands, thus denominated from the tin of Cornwall, which was the chief object of the commercial visits made by the Phœnicians to the coasts of South Britain. This far superior portion of the great island of Britain seems to have been first inhabited by Gaelic Celts from France; next by their expulsores, Cumraig Celts from Germany; and afterwards by Belgians from the Low Countries, who seizing the south-eastern territories, extended their possessions gradually to the west and north. Such was the state of the country when it was first visited by the Romans, who under the conduct of Julius Cæsar, about fifty-five years before the birth of Christ, made two invasions, in two successive years, into the south-eastern parts, but immediately abandoned whatever conquests

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quests they had made. The inhabitants remained free from foreign yoke until the Romans again, about the forty-third year of the Christian era, under the command of Plautius, in the reign of the emperor Claudius, invaded the same parts, and continued to extend their dominion, till under Julius Agricola, about the year 78, they made a final conquest of the country, and carried their arms into North-Britain as far as the Grampian mountains.

Saxons.

The Romans in some time abandoned North-Britain to its inhabitants; and, for the protection of their subjects in the southern portion of the island, against the incursions of these barbarians, drew fortified lines from sea to sea, particularly a great rampart of stone and lime, sixty eight English miles in length, commonly called the wall of Severus, extending from the frith of Solway to the mouth of the river Tyne.* After a possession of more than four hundred years, the Romans, dreadfully pressed by the Gothic nations of the continent, who threatened, and finally completed the destruction of their empire, abandoned their territories in Britain in the year 409, together with other provinces indefensible by their arms. Forsaken by their defenders, the South-Britons, habituated to servitude, unaccustomed to think and act for themselves, and incapacitated by disunion for national efforts, were unable efficaciously to withstand the predatory incursions of the Caledonians and Irish, who, under the names of Picts and Scots, passed the strong, but ill defended, wall of Severus, and spread through the country desolation and

* See Gordon's *Terraquea*, vol. 3. p. 98—100.

and dismay. After a series of defensive hostilities and internal dissensions, of which we have no clear account, for the space of about forty years, in South-Britain, a people inhabiting Denmark and the north of Germany, long infamous for naval depredation, under the generic name of Saxons, began to form settlements in this country either spontaneously or by the formal invitation of its inhabitants.

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The first colonists of this description, properly denominated *Vitæ* or Jutes, from the peninsula of Jutland, fixing their station in Kent in the year 449, acted at first as auxiliaries to the South-Britons, and repressed the incursions of the Picts and Scots; but, strengthened by fresh emigrations from the continent, they soon turned their arms against their allies, of whose country they determined to render themselves masters. The South-Britons, now habituated to independence, displayed a martial valour, by disunion and misconduct unavailing. The invaders were continually reinforced by fresh adventurers from the continent. The first arrival of the Saxons, properly so denominated, is marked in the year 477, and that of the Angles from South-Jutland in 547. In less than a century and a half, after their first debarkation, far the greater part of South-Britain was in the undisputed possession of these colonists; but, though the country took the new name of *Anglia* or *England* from the conquering Angles, yet the main body of the modern English are most probably descended from the ancient Britons of the Belgic race, who could have been only conquered, not exterminated, by their much less numerous, but more warlike invaders.

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vaders. As the Saxons and their associates, comprehended under the general name of Anglo-Saxons; arrived at different times under different leaders, their settlements were divided into separate states, in number seven; whence the government of England in that period is denominated by historians the *Saxon Heptarchy*. These petty states were at last, about the year 827, united into one, then first called the kingdom of England, under the dominion of Egbert; but the union was not consolidated before the year 959 in the reign of king Edgar.

Danes.

Previously to this union the Danes began to infest the coasts of England. Their first appearance there was in the year 787. Their depredations, desultory in the beginning, became in time of a most alarming nature; whole armies debarking at once, and carrying devastation to the center of the country. All yielded to these merciless destroyers of the human race till the mighty Alfred arose, the greatest and most amiable prince of all who have ever swayed a sceptre in Britain. Overthrowing the Danes in many desperate conflicts, he expelled some, reduced the rest to peaceable subjection, and enforced such a number of salutary regulations, that England enjoyed the sweets of a tranquility doubtless never surpassed in any other period. The reign of this adorable sovereign, a true patriot king, a bright phenomenon of literature and legislation in an age of thick darkness, ended in 901 after a duration of thirty years. With his life the light of England was extinguished. The Danes recommenced their hostilities; and, after a series of bloody combats, alternate intervals of
truce

truce and warfare, superiority and dejection, the invaders in the end prevailed, and made an entire conquest of England in the year 1017, under the command of the great Canute, who saw himself at once monarch of England, Norway, and Denmark. As the Danes had nearly the same language and origin with the Anglo-Saxons, they soon coalesced with the conquered people; and, by a peaceable revolution in the hereditary succession, the crown reverted to a prince of the Saxon line, in the person of Edward the Confessor, in the year 1041. But after the end of this monarch's reign, England was reduced to a deplorable state of slavery by a new host of adventurers, more advanced indeed in the arts of life, and under a less irregular government, but hardly less cruel and insolent than its former invaders.

Normans.

Harassed by the desolating inroads of the Scandinavians, the French government had, for a purchase of peace, in the year 911, ceded the provinces of Neustria and Bretagne to Rollo, a leader of these terrible pirates, who soon converted his ferocious followers from roving banditti into settled colonists. Neustria received the name of Normandy from its new inhabitants, called Normans by the French. William the bastard, who, a hundred and fifty years after Rollo's establishment, filled the ducal throne of Normandy, demanded, on the decease of Edward, the crown of England, in right of a will said to have been made in his favour by that weak prince; but his claim was justly neglected, and, with the acquiescence of the people, the sceptre was seized by Harold,

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Harold, a great and warlike nobleman. William, however, assembling an army of sixty thousand of the boldest adventurers from France and the Netherlands, invaded England in October 1066; and, at Hastings in Suffex, by superior discipline, and the advantage of cavalry, defeated the army of his opponent in a most obstinate and bloody battle, in which Harold fell. This victory decided the fate of England, which immediately submitted with unfortunate facility to this foreign usurper. William, styled the conqueror, confiscated all the lands of the English, and conferred them on his Normans, who, despising a people so easily subjugated, treated them with the utmost insolence and inhumanity.

Henry II. To the conqueror, by his bequest, succeeded his second son William Rufus: to Rufus by usurpation his younger brother Henry, to the exclusion of Robert, the eldest son of the conqueror: to Henry his nephew Stephen usurper of the throne from Henry's daughter Matilda: and to Stephen, in the year 1154 Henry the second, son of Matilda by Geoffry Plantagenet count of Anjou. This great and politic, but, from adverse occurrences, not always fortunate monarch, turned his thoughts in the first years of his reign to the conquest of Ireland, which from disunion and intestine discord lay open to the attempts of any ambitious potentate. For such attempts the kings of England, predecessors of Henry, had been incapacitated by domestic weakness, or diverted from them by more interesting objects. That the Danes or Scandinavians, the colonizers of the maritime tracts of Ireland, never made a complete conquest
of

of the country, nor formed their acquisitions into one state, seems fortunate for England, since this hardy seafaring people might have here established a formidable naval power, which might rival that of Britain, or prevent its elevation. That this great prince had found leisure and a fair pretext for a complete conquest, might have been happy both for Britain and Ireland, since they might thus have been early united into one potent and civilized monarchy.

Neither monarchs, nor the rulers of commonwealths, are ever at a loss for pretences, when opportunities are given, to gratify their ambition; but the sanction of the Pope, who, in those times of mental darkness, arrogated, as head of the Christian church, the disposal of kingdoms, was deemed necessary for such an enterprise as the invasion of Ireland. By John of Salisbury, therefore, his chaplain, was application made by Henry to Pope Adrian the third, who, besides being an Englishman amicable to the king, was glad of an opportunity to augment the papal power, and to reduce completely the Irish under the Roman church. A bull was immediately given, together with a ring, the token of his investiture as rightful sovereign of the Irish, authorizing Henry to render himself master of Ireland, to eradicate irreligion and immorality from among its inhabitants, and stipulating for the annual payment of one penny for every house in the island to the pope, as the successor of Saint Peter, which money is denominated *Peter's pence*. 1156.

This bull, which was issued in 1156, lay some years dormant. Henry was possessed of extensive

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dominions in France, having inherited by his mother the great dutchy of Normandy; by his father the county of Anjou with Touraine and Maine; and by Eleanor, his queen, the Dutchy of Guienne, together with Poitou and other territories. By insurrections and contested claims in his French provinces, the settlement of English affairs, and the obstinate violence of Thomas a Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, who contended for exorbitant privileges of the church and hierarchy, the monarch's attention was engaged so deeply that Ireland seems to have been forgotten, till adventurers from England, embarking, with his consent, in the domestic feuds of the Irish princes, rendered his interference necessary, and gave him an easy opportunity of invasion.

O'Connors. In the perpetual fluctuation of power in Ireland the nominal sovereignty had fallen from the house of O'Brien in Munster; and Turlogh O'Connor of Connaught, who had commenced his regal claims about the year 1130, was generally acknowledged prince paramount by the Irish chiefs. In this period the dominion of the O'Briens, who ruled in Thomond or North-Munster, was contracted by the warlike septs of Mac-Arthy, who exercised an independent sway in Desmond or South-Munster: the princes of Offory, Decies, and other territories of Leinster, paid homage to Dermot Mac-Murchad as their provincial king: Meath was in subjection to the family of Clan-Colman: in Ulster O'Loughlan held the chief command: but his authority was disputed by Dunleve, prince of Down or Uladh, who affected independence: and in the district of Bressney, consisting

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consisting chiefly of the modern county of Leitrim, reigned Tiernan O'Ruarc, a warlike chieftain. The sovereignty of O'Connor was not admitted by O'Loghlan, who, alarmed at the progress of his arms, after a victory gained by him over the sept of O'Bryan, convened an assembly of princes, and forced him to consent to a tacit partition of authority, by which O'Loghlan remained sovereign in the northern parts of the island.

The rival princes, O'Connor and O'Loghlan, appear to have made on this occasion some private stipulations inimical to inferior chieftains. Two bodies of troops, one from Connaught, the other led by Dermot from Leinster, suddenly entering Breffney, drove O'Ruarc from his principality; and Dermot, whether from previous passion for the lady, or propensity to indulge unlawful desire when opportunity occurred, seized the person of Dervorghal, wife of the expelled prince, and carried her with him into Leinster. Deprived at once of dominion and of his consort, the Breffnian was not destitute of hope in the unsettled state of a country so prone to revolution. He had address enough to prejudice O'Connor against the king of Leinster, and to prevail on him not only to reinstate him in his principality, but also to march with a formidable force into the territories of Dermot, and force him to the restitution of Dervorghal, who is said to have lived afterwards, if not in reunion with her husband, at least in a condition of rank and opulence.

By services of such importance O'Ruarc remained attached to the king of Connaught, by whose assis-

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1156. tance he was enabled frequently to give disturbance to Dermot ; till, by the death of O'Connor in the year 1156, O'Loghlan became chief monarch of Ireland. Dermot, long the ally of the Ultonian or Ulster prince, might have soon found means, by the sovereign power of his patron, to complete the ruin of O'Ruarc, if his patron had not, by a formidable confederacy, excited against him by his commission of a horrible crime, been disabled from lending him effectual aid. O'Loghlan, too highly elated by his new dignity, and filled with resentment against the prince of Down, seized on his person in breach of a solemn treaty, and with execrable inhumanity deprived him of his eyes. This treacherous act of atrocious cruelty, though too frequent in the annals of the Irish to be new or strange to the chieftains then existing, excited in each a fear for his own safety. Leaguings for mutual assistance, the neighbouring princes flew to arms, and the contest was, after some less important actions, decided by the death of O'Loghlan, who fell in the battle of Litterluin in the year 1167.

Roderic. By the fall of the Ultonian prince the house of O'Connor was reinstated in the sovereignty, in the person of Roderic, son of Turlogh, already mentioned. 1167. Seizing the opportunity of the vacant throne, Roderic marched immediately with an army to Dublin, where, favoured by the Ostman inhabitants, he was with proper solemnity inaugurated as paramount monarch ; and, thence marching northward, received the submissions of the chiefs in that quarter. Returning to the south, accompanied by O'Ruarc,

O'Ruarc, and obliging the toparchs of Leinster to acknowledge his authority, he caused Dermod to be deposed, and another of the same family to be chosen in his place. To complete the establishment of his title, he advanced into Munster; and, having modeled the government of that province to what he conceived to be his interest, he convened an assembly of the princes of Ireland in Meath, where he displayed such a superiority, and commanded such respect, as promised in appearance a reign of comparative prosperity.

Dermod, the partizan of the fallen O'Loughlan, consequently regarded as the enemy of Roderic, had fled in despair on the approach of that monarch, setting fire to Ferns, the place of his residence, to prevent the spoliation of it by his foes. Rejected by the chiefs of Leinster, and destitute of resource at home, he resolved, as Irish princes had at several times done before, to seek assistance beyond sea. As the proximity of England, and the fame of its monarch, drew naturally his attention to that quarter, he set sail for the Severn's-mouth, and arrived at Bristol with sixty attendants. The expulsion of this kinglet, ascribed by Giraldus Cambrensis to the abduction of Dervorghal, seems to have had little or no connexion with that affair, since in those ages crimes of this kind were too common to excite a just abhorrence; since the fact had been committed at least fourteen years before this event; and since his alliance with the enemies of the O'Connor family, would, aided by the hatred of the Leinstrian toparchs, have been sufficient in itself to produce this catastrophe.

Dermod,

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Dermot, endowed with superior stature and strength of body, and with a boisterous valour, was highly esteemed by the common people, whom he favoured, and by the clergy, to whom he was munificent; but odious to his tributary chieftains for his pride and oppressive government, who all instantly forsook him on the reverse of his fortune. As the introducer of successful adventurers from South-Britain into his country, he has excited the hatred of Irish writers, who have described him as a man of a most detestable character. With considerable abatement for manifest exaggeration, he may have risen somewhat above the ordinary standard of his turbulent compatriots in ferocity of spirit and violence of behaviour.

Received, as an unfortunate prince, with compassion and kind hospitality at Bristol, where he learned that Henry was then far distant in Guienne in Southern France, Dermot repaired quickly to that province, and, throwing himself at the feet of the king, implored his assistance to restore him to his dominions, which he promised to hold in vassalage under the English monarch and his heirs. Henry, how glad soever of the occurrence, was unable at that time, engaged in wars and negotiations, to avail himself of so fair an opportunity to put into execution the scheme of a conquest which he had long before conceived: but, resolving to draw what advantage he could from the occasion, he accepted the proffered fealty of the suppliant prince, and, treating him with great courtesy, dismissed him with splendid gifts, magnificent promises, and a letter of credence addressed to all his subjects, in which he declared

declared that he had received the king of Leinster into his grace and protection, and that whosoever should assist in the reinstatement of the exiled prince might be assured of his free licence and royal favour. This letter, which Dermot published in Bristol on his return from the continent, procured him no assistance, probably from the unfavourable opinion there entertained respecting the state of Ireland, till, after a month's interval, he was induced by the situation of affairs in South-Wales to make more successful applications to some chiefs in that country.

Wales.

The rugged region of Wales, inhabited by Cumraig Celts, and thence denominated Cambria, had remained unconquered by the Saxons, when the rest of South-Britain was in the hands of this people. About the end of the sixth century, when it began to be known by its present name, it appears to have been under the divided government of six princes, independent one of another, but acknowledging the supremacy of one of their number residing in North-Wales. A little before the middle of the ninth century, Wales became united under one sovereign in the person of Roderic, surnamed, with little apparent cause, the great. This prince consented to the regular payment of a tribute, which probably had been exacted before, to the king of the English, and made a division of his realm into three principalities, which were inherited by his three sons. Other divisions, attended with internal commotions, greatly diminished the force of the Welch, and exposed them to the ambitious attempts of the kings of England

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England, against whose invasions they had only to oppose the fastnesses of their country, and their impetuous valour in desultory onsets.

In the year 1063, Harold, who then acted as general of Edward the confessor, and who soon after succeeded that monarch for a time in the throne of England, reduced the Welch princes to a temporary vassalage. More permanent inroads were made in the reign of William Rufus, toward the end of the eleventh century, when several Norman nobles obtained possessions in the Southern parts of Wales, and some also in the Northern, where they acted with almost regal authority under the title of Lords of the marches, bridling the country with strong fortresses. For additional security, a colony of Flemings, in the beginning of the twelfth century, was planted in the county of Pembroke, which thence sometimes was called Little England beyond Wales. Yet the Welch had never been completely conquered. Alternately submitting to tribute, and having recourse to arms, they frequently stormed the Anglo-Norman castles, and made ruinous incursions into the bordering counties of England. The princes of North-Wales continued to rule their native subjects, and, though generally obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of the kings of England, maintained a kind of court as independent monarchs.

Strongbow.

At the time of Dermot's foreign visits, a secret ferment, and meditation of revolt against the government of Henry, had place in South-Wales; and Rice-ap-Griffith, a Welch chieftain, who commanded

manded in the country about Pembroke, had imprisoned Robert Fitzstephen, the governor of Cardigan, on the discovery of his disinclination to co-operate in rebellion. Among the persons in these parts, who from circumstances might be supposed the most willing to engage in revolt or other desperate enterprises, was Richard, earl of Chepstow, then termed Strigul, surnamed Strongbow, son of Gilbert Earl of Pembroke, of the illustrious house of Clare, a valorous youth, of dissipated fortune, and destitute of royal favour. To this young nobleman Dermod made earnest application; and, on the cold reception of his first overtures, he proposed to give him his daughter Eva in marriage, and with her the inheritance of the kingdom of Leinster. This proposal was, according to the Irish laws, a nullity, since hereditary succession had no place in Ireland; but he might reasonably suppose that the establishment of the claim would much more depend on the success of the enterprize than on the customs of his country.

When Earl Strongbow, so titled from his feats of archery, acceded to the proposals of the Irish prince, on condition of Henry's particular licence for the undertaking, Dermod found other adventurers, less powerful indeed, but more prompt for the hazardous enterprize of the solicited expedition. By the mediation of the bishop of Saint-Davids, Fitzstephen was released by Griffith, on his proposal of engaging in the service of Dermod, that he might not be in a situation to oppose the projected revolt against Henry,

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V. give assistance in such a business. To Fitzstephen,


and his maternal brother Maurice Fitzgerald, who, with other adventurous knights of Wales, enlisted in this new enterprise, the prince of Leinster bound himself to give the entire dominion of the town of Wexford with a large portion of land adjoining, as
1167. soon as his re-establishment should enable him to make the donation. Dermot, having thus far succeeded in his negotiations, and having received solemn promises from Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald of their failing to his assistance in the ensuing spring, embarked with his Irish train, and a few adventurers from Wales, who agreed thus early to share his fortunes; and, landing privately on the Irish coast in the winter of 1169, contrived to pass unobserved to a monastery which he had founded at Ferns, where he remained sometime in concealment, awaiting the arrival of his transmarine allies.

His return seems to have been premature. As his emissaries disseminated the fame of the expected succours, in their endeavours to acquire friends to his cause among the Irish, his arrival in the country could not long remain a secret. Alarmed for his personal safety, when he found that his designs and place of residence were publicly known, he dispatched into Britain, to hasten the preparations of his allies, Maurice Regan, his friend and confidential secretary, the faithful historian of the Anglo-Norman exploits in Ireland at this period; and, assuming a bold countenance, as the safer mode of
conduct

conduct in such a dilemma, he put himself at the head of his adherents and seized a part of his former dominions, known then by the name of Hy-Kenfelagh, extending to Wexford along the river Slaney. Thither marched hastily Roderic O'Connor, with a body of troops from Connaught, accompanied by O'Ruarc, the long attached friend of his family. Dermot, unable to cope with such a force, had recourse to the expedient usual in such cases. He retired with his followers into the fastnesses of woods, hoping to baffle by the nature of his post the great superiority of the enemies' numbers.

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In the attempts made by the troops of Connaught to force the post of Dermot, several skirmishes had place, in the first of which the assailants were, with loss on Roderic's side, repulsed. In another fell the rainist, or elected successor, of O'Ruarc, and of Dermot's party a young chieftain of Wales, designated in the style of the Irish annalists as the son of a king. Frustrated in his hopes of a speedy decision in his favour, and impatient to march elsewhere for the suppression of revolts and local feuds, particularly in Meath and Thomond, in both which provinces the reigning princes under his protection had been murdered, Roderic listened to the proposal of a treaty, which Dermot made only with temporizing views. He offered to pay a hundred ounces of gold to O'Ruarc as a purchase of his forgiveness; to make a formal renunciation of his claim to the kingdom of Leinster, on being permitted to retain ten cantreds, or small territories

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C H A P. VI.

Patronymics of the Normans, Welch, and Irish—Arrival of Robert Fitzstephen.—Attack of Wexford—Arms of the Ostmén and Irish—Of the Anglo-Normans—Donations of Dermot—Attack of Ossory—Maurice Fitzgerald—Advance of Roderic—Fitzstephen's Magnanimity—Treaty of Dermot and Roderic—Account of Dublin—Submission of this City—Defection of Thomond—Storming of Waterford—Marriage of Strongbow—Storming of Dublin—Council of Armagh—Slave Trade—Misfortunes of Strongbow—Assault of Dublin—Siege of Dublin—Of Carrick—Horrible Perjury—Capture of Fitzstephen—March of Strongbow—Transactions—Summons from Henry.

VERY few of my readers can require to be informed, that the syllable *Fitz*, prefixed to the names of several South-British chieftains famous in Irish history, is a term of Norman French, corrupted from the Latin word *filius*, and signifying *son*, as Fitzstephen imports the son of Stephen. Among the Welch the particle *Ap*, derived by the idiomatic pronunciation of that people from the Latin *ab*, has been applied to a similar use. Among the Irish *Mac* and *O* were the patronymic signs, the latter understood as originally belonging to the principal family of the sept or clan.

Robert Fitzstephen, faithful to the engagement with Dermot, set sail from Wales with a fleet of three

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three small vessels, in the beginning of May, in the year 1170; and, arriving on the southern coast of the modern county of Wexford, in the bay of Banow, in a creek vulgarly called Bag-an-Bunn, disembarked his forces, consisting of thirty knights, sixty men in armour, and three hundred archers. This little army was reinforced on the following day by the landing of Maurice de Prendergast with two hundred archers and ten knights. On the news of their arrival, numbers, who had abandoned the party of Dermot, returned to his standard; and that prince, in violation of his treaty, too common a practice among the Irish of those days, hastened to join his allies for the commencement of offensive war against the adherents of Roderic in Leinster, sending forward five hundred men under his natural son Donald, a youth of distinguished valour. The first enterprize, planned by the Leinstrian prince and his foreign associates, was an attack on the town of Wexford, about twelve miles distant from the place of debarkation.

Osismen

Wexford, like the rest of the maritime towns of Ireland, had been built by Danish colonists, and was inhabited by their descendants, mixed in course of time with some ancient Irish. The Danes of this country, and their kindred race in the Scandinavian regions, had long exchanged their habits of piracy for those of commerce, and had become so noted for merchandize and the fabrication of money, that the term *sterling*, extracted from *Easterling*, was, and still continues, the appropriate expression for genuine coin. Though the Danes or

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Ostmen were thus become the benefactors, instead of the destroyers, of mankind, their colonists in Ireland, habituated incessantly to the petty hostilities of the Irish tribes, had lost not the martial spirit of their progenitors; but as they were disunited in small communities, and acquainted only with desultory warfare, they had made no improvement in the military art, and were far inferior to the Anglo-Norman adventurers both in respect of arms and tactics. The Irish had seldom other defensive armour than the *glibb* for a helmet, and iron gauntlets on the hands for a shield. For offensive arms each man commonly carried a pike, two javelins, a sword, and a long knife called *skene*. From the Danes they had acquired the Scythian hatchet, a tremendous weapon, the strokes of which, directed with strength and skill, no armour could resist. Their bows and arrows were so short, as to be of little or no use in battle; but, with prodigious force they threw stones, the javelin whirled by a string, and even the ponderous hatchet, fatal in its stroke to bodies unprotected by strong armour. The Irish Ostmen, whose main dependance was on the axe and pike, appear to have been furnished for war in a manner little, if at all, different from the aboriginals.

On the other hand, those Danes or Scandinavians, who, under the name of Normans, had fixed their abode in the northern provinces of France, had been united, from their first settlement, under one potent monarchy; and, in their wars with the great princes of the continent, had been accustomed to the evolutions of large bodies of troops acting in combined

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combined and persevering efforts. They had also adopted, with some alterations, the arms, whose use the Gothic tribes, the subverters of the Roman empire, had learned from the Romans. Their forces consisted of men-at-arms and archers. The former were horsemen, so cased in armour, that a knight completely caparisoned was by ordinary weapons almost invulnerable. A suit of armour was composed of several pieces of polished steel, adapted to the several parts of the body, and so nicely jointed as to fit easy on the warrior, and to allow him a freedom of motion and exertion of strength. He carried on his left arm an oval shield: his horse was also barbed or fortified with armour; and his weapons of offence were a long lance, a dagger, and a long, double-edged, and pointed sword. The archers, fenced with quilted jackets, or coats of mail, and helmets, and armed with spears or battleaxes for occasional close combat, carried the formidable bow, which, like that of the ancient Parthians, frequently sent arrows with such force as to pierce the strongest armour. By the cross bow, and the evolutions of their cavalry, the Normans had gained the great victory of Hastings, by which William the conqueror was fixed on the English throne. Their mode of warfare was learned by the conquered English, who, by their extraordinary attention to the use of the bow, became the most celebrated archers in all Europe.

Wexford. On the approach of Dermot and Fitzstephen toward their town, the garrison of Wexford, composed of Ostmen and Irish, marched with intrepidity

dity to meet their enemies in the field ; but, struck with the new and unexpected sight of horsemen sheathed in shining armour, and troops advancing to the charge with unbroken ranks, in steady silence and composure, they retired within their walls, burning the suburbs and adjacent hamlets to deprive the assailants of shelter. A vigorous and well-conducted assault was opposed with so determined courage by the garrison, that Fitzstephen was repulsed with the loss of eighteen of his men. Heedless of the inconsiderate exultation of the foe and the dejection of his allies, this valorous leader took his measures for victory with cool resolution. Retiring to the sea, and burning his vessels, to give his men the sole alternative of death or conquest, he advanced again to the assault, after an inspiriting harangue, and the solemn ceremony of divine service. Many of the inhabitants, particularly the clergy, dreading the consequences of obstinate resistance against such desperate resolution, persuaded the garrison to capitulate ; and, after a delay of three days, caused by the pride and insolence of Dermot, their proposals were accepted, to swear allegiance to this prince, to enter into his service, and to give as hostages for their obedience four of their principal citizens.

Dermot immediately, according to promise, invested Fitzstephen, conjointly with Fitzgerald though the latter had not yet arrived, with the lordship of Wexford and its territory ; and on Hervey of Mountmorres, a nephew of Strongbow, who had come, as the friend of that nobleman, to send him information concerning the state of Ireland, he conferred

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two districts on the coast between the towns of Wexford and Waterford. From this donation made to Hervey is commonly supposed to have originated the colonization of the Bargo and Forth baronies, where dwells a people distinct from their neighbours, particularly in a peculiar dialect of the Gothic language : but these are probably in part the descendants of ancient Belgians, known to the Roman geographers under the name of Menapii, intermixed in after ages with some Danes, or Norwegians, and on this occasion also with a great proportion of English colonists, and Flemings from Pembrokehire.

Ossory.

After these donations, and an entertainment of his allies during three weeks at Ferns, the prince of Leinster marched against Donald Macgilla-Phadruc, the chieftain of Ossory, situate about the modern county of Kilkenny, who had not only revolted against him in his reverse of fortune, but even, in a fit of matrimonial jealousy, had seized one of his sons, and torn out his eyes in so outrageous a manner, that the death of the hapless youth was the immediate consequence. This atrocious act is doubtless a proof that the wickedness of Dermod was fully equalled, if not exceeded, by that of his compatriots. In this expedition a warfare widely different from the storming of Wexford was experienced by Fitzstephen's band. The Ossorians, to the number of about five thousand, strongly barricaded in a most advantageous position amid woods and morasses, repelled the reiterated assaults of the Britons, who, in this extremity, had no resource for success but stratagem and evolution. Like the troops
of

of William the conqueror at Hastings, they feigned a flight, until, having drawn the Ossorians from their post in pursuit of imagined victory, they wheeled and put them to the rout. But the nature of the grounds, in a country to them unknown, into which they pursued an enemy well acquainted with warfare in bogs and thickets, brought the Britons into such danger, that their Irish associates, apprehending their case to be desperate, separated themselves from them with intention to join the victors. A like stratagem and evolution as the former, with an ambuscade in the rear of the pursuing Ossorians, decided the battle; and the Irish of Dermod's party, determined by the event, rushed with those axes after their compatriots, which in opposite fortune they would have turned against the Britons; and, completing the rout, brought three hundred heads of his enemies to Dermod. This chieftain, when he recognized, among these ghastly spoils, the head of an inveterate enemy, mangled the visage with his teeth, in a paroxysm of rage! A shocking sample of manners prevalent in his time and country! Can we suppose that Dermod, however uncommonly ferocious, would thus publicly have displayed an act so savage, if he had been conscious of the general horror, which in our age would be excited by such an exhibition?

Dermod, unacquainted with other than desultory wars, and satisfied for the present with the defeat of the Ossorians and the devastations committed in their territory, retired without a completion of his conquest, contrary to the advice of his wiser allies.

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While he was ravaging the lands of hostile chieftains, as the territory of Decies in the present county of Waterford, and Glandelagh in that of Wicklow; the lord of Ossory recruited his forces, and sustaining for three days the furious assaults of his enemies in a second invasion, was driven with slaughter from his post: but strengthened by the band of Maurice de Prendergast, who, disgusted with Dermot, revolted to his antagonist, he became quickly so formidable as to act even offensively. Disgusted still more with his new confederates, this British leader forsook his party, and with difficulty escaped from the treacherous Ossorians; while Dermot, reinforced by the arrival at Wexford of Maurice Fitzgerald with ten knights, thirty horsemen, and a hundred archers, was too powerful to be opposed by so small a force. Submission was therefore necessarily tendered, which, after some sullen hesitation, Dermot at length reluctantly accepted from the atrocious murderer of his son.

The submission of the Ossorian was, like that of Dermot himself to Roderic, made for a temporizing purpose. The monarch of Ireland had been earnestly solicited, and was anxiously expected with a formidable army, to crush the king of Leinster. Roderic, though elsewhere occupied with a multiplicity of business, the enforcement of his authority, and the forming of regulations to gain the esteem and respect of his compatriots or subjects, judged an expedition for this end absolutely necessary, and, assembling a great body of troops at the hill of Tarah, marched with celerity to the south.

Of

Of what materials the Irish armies of those times were composed appeared on this, as on other occasions. Dreading the defection of the northern chieftains, who secretly favoured the supremacy of the Hy-Nial, instead of the O'Connor family, Roderic, when he had advanced so far as Dublin, dismissed these leaders and their followers, under pretence that the service was too unimportant to require the inconvenience of their longer detention. The vast superiority, however, of his remaining forces, consisting of the troops of Connaught, Breffney, Thomond, and some lords of Leinster, struck Dermod with despair, abandoned, as he was, by vassals who had lately sworn allegiance to his government, and apprehending the desertion of all the rest.

Fitzstephen's magnanimity, superior to dejection, roused the prince from a despondence which would have proved fatal. Entrenched near Ferns, amid morasses, precipices, and woods, the Britons, with their adherents, waited the onset of the enemy with so resolute a countenance as to cool the ardour of Roderic. Dreading the prowess of these martial adventurers, and the ruinous effects of a defeat, he had recourse to negotiation. From Fitzstephen, to whom he made the first overtures, offering, on condition of his abandonment of Dermod, not only a safe retreat for himself and all his forces, but even the defrayment of their expences in their voyage back to Wales, he received an answer of defiance; and from Dermod, whom he then attempted to detach from his British alliance, the support and hope of his fortunes, he obtained a not more favourable reply.

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reply. By the mediation of the clergy, when the armies were prepared for decision by the sword, a treaty was concluded, by which Dermot was acknowledged king of Leinster, under the supremacy of Roderic, to whom his favourite son was delivered as a hostage, and to whose daughter this son was to be joined in matrimony to cement an alliance between the two families, as soon as the complete submission of Leinster to Dermot, and of Ireland to O'Connor, should render the conjuncture favourable. By a secret article the prince of Leinster was bound to bring no more adventurers from Britain, and to send home those who had already come, when once his power should be fully established over his province.

Dublin.

Authorized by treaty to reduce to his obedience all parts of Leinster, Dermot hastened to execute vengeance on the citizens of Dublin, who had treacherously murdered his father, and had, in signification of contemptuous insult, interred with his body the carcase of a dog. This even then most considerable town of Ireland, founded by Scandinavians, perhaps in the first ages of the Christian era, we find noted by Ptolemy under the name Eblana, probably Deblana in the original uncorrupted manuscript.* Seated at first on swampy ground, at the southern side of the river Liffy, it was called by the Irish *Baileacliath* and *Athcliath*, or the town on hurdles; by the Danes and other Gothic people Dyffin, Dubhlin, or Duvlin, which seems to signify black

* See Gordon's *Terraquea*, vol. 3. p. 282.

black water. At the arrival of the English in Ireland it was inhabited by Danes or Ostmen, whence a part of the modern city retained until our times the name of Oxmantown, corrupted from Ostmantown. Under a chieftain, who sometimes acknowledged, and sometimes disclaimed, a sort of allegiance to the prince of Leinster, Dublin formed a distinct state, and possessed a territory, consisting principally of what is termed Fingall, whose inhabitants are distinguished by a peculiar dialect of Gothic origin, probably Danish, but considerably resembling that of Bargo and Forth.

The citizens with Hesculph Mac-Torca, their chieftain, unable to oppose the prince of Leinster in the field, who, leaving Fitzstephen to erect a fortress at Carrick near Wexford, had invaded, and with his own, and the British troops under Fitzgerald, was laying waste their territory, made overtures of submission, which by the intercession of the British leader were accepted. The success of this expedition served much to enflame the ambition of Dermot, who aspired to the sovereign power, and, in violation of his late engagement, seized an opportunity, which immediately occurred, of inflicting a deep wound on Roderic's authority. Donald O'Brien, prince of Thomond, courting the hopeful fortune of the Leinstrian chief, and obtaining his daughter in marriage, renounced his allegiance to the king of Connaught; and that monarch, when he arrived with an army to chastise the rebellious lord, found so formidable an opposition from the forces of Fitzstephen, that he was obliged to relinquish

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quish the enterprize with loss and ignominy. To complete the subversion of Roderic's power, and to raise himself to the sovereign dignity in his place, Dermot now sent pressing solicitations to the earl of Chepstow for the performance of his promised expedition to Ireland with an army.

That nobleman, fearing to embark in an undertaking of such moment without the particular licence of his sovereign, repaired to Henry to solicit this favour; but the monarch, neither willing to recall the general permission already granted, nor to allow extensive conquests to be made in Ireland otherwise than under his immediate command, gave answers only of an evasive nature. Strongbow, understanding, or affecting to understand, the last of these answers as the requested leave, returned home and made preparations for the Irish expedition, sending before him Raymond le Gros, a nephew of Fitzstephen, with ten knights and seventy archers, as the van guard of his army. This band of adventurers, landing in the May of 1171, at a place called Dondonolf by the old historians, near the city of Waterford, raised a rampart of earth, and drew a trench around it for their security.

Waterford. Waterford, situate on the southern bank of the great navigable river Suir, had been founded by Ostmen, and was inhabited by their descendants, under the joint government of two chief magistrates. Alarmed at the hostile debarkation of these foreigners, contrary to the treaty of pacification so lately concluded, the citizens and neighbouring peasants, forming a tumultuary band of about three thousand,

thousand, rushed with disorderly precipitation to overwhelm the invaders. The Britons, despising such a mob of assailants, marched out with imprudent confidence to engage them on equal ground but, quickly perceiving their error, they retired with precipitation within their intrenchment. The impetuosity of the pursuers bore many of them within the rampart at the backs of the retreating Britons, whose utmost exertions were now necessary to save themselves from destruction. The gigantic Raymond slew the leader of the hostile troops; and the garrison, driving furiously out through the gates, a herd of cattle which had been collected within, upon the confused croud of assailants without, so completed their disorder, that they were incapable, on the instant fall of the Britons, either of resistance or of timely flight. Some were slaughtered, others drowned in the sea, and seventy of the principal citizens were captured. This victory of arms and dexterity in war over inexpertness and tumultuary rage, was tarnished by a deed which demonstrates ferocity of manners not to have belonged in those times exclusively to the Irish. All the prisoners, with their legs previously broken, were precipitated from an eminence into the sea; either, according to Regan, in revenge for a friend of Raymond killed in the battle, or according to Giraldus Cambrensis, at the instigation of Hervey of Mountmorres, to strike terror into the invaded people.

Strongbow, astonished by a peremptory command from his sovereign to desist from his Irish enterprise, when he was ready for embarkation at Milford Haven,

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Haven, set sail notwithstanding, hoping to evade or deprecate the resentment of Henry ; and arriving on the coast in the vicinity of Waterford with twelve hundred archers and two hundred knights, in August, on the eve of Saint Bartholomew, advanced on the following day, in conjunction with Raymond, to the attack of that city. Twice repulsed by the obstinate valour of the garrison, they returned a third time to the assault ; and, effecting a breach, by cutting the props of a house which projected beyond the wall in the eastern angle, they rushed into the town with irresistible fury, putting all indiscriminately to the sword, till the slaughter was stopped by the arrival of Dermot, who is acknowledged to have on this occasion interposed to save the lives of his countrymen. When the uproar of battle and slaughter had subsided, the stipulated nuptials of Strongbow with Eva, daughter of Dermot, were solemnized in Waterford, and the confederates marched thence immediately to Dublin, to chastise a supposed, or a real defection of its inhabitants. Roderic O'Connor, with an army, magnified by romantic writers to the number of thirty thousand, advanced to Clondalkin, a little to the south of that city, to give battle to these forces ; but his troops, intimidated by an unusual display of arms and martial discipline, ventured only to skirmish, and after three days wasted in this kind of warfare, demanded their dismissal, and returned home.

Dublin.

The citizens of Dublin, thus abandoned to their own defence, which was rendered hopeless by the destruction

destruction of one of their principal gates by an accidental fire, sent a solemn deputation, conducted by their archbishop, Lawrence O'Tool, to offer terms of submission and to deprecate severity. While Dermot hesitated to accept the terms, though thirty hostages were offered for security, some of the younger and more fiery of the British leaders, pretending that the time of parley was expired, led their troops to the walls, and gave the assault. While slaughter pervaded the streets, and numbers in escaping from the sword were drowned in the river, Hesculf the governor, with many of the inhabitants, fled on board some vessels, and sailed to the Hebudes. Earl Strongbow was immediately invested with the lordship of Dublin, and marched thence with devastation into Meath, whose prince, the murderer of his predecessor, had been expelled by Roderic, and sought the protection of Dermot. The monarch of Ireland, disabled by dissensions from effectual resistance to this invasion, sent a deputation to remonstrate against the breach of treaty; and receiving an answer of defiance from Dermot, beheaded, as is with appearance of truth supposed, his hostages with impotent rage, among whom was a son of the Leinsterian prince.

Great alarms were spread through Ireland by the exploits of the Britons, to whose progress no effective opposition was made by a people divided into clans more hostile one to another than to the invaders. To deliberate for the public safety a general council was convened at Armagh, of almost all the principal clergy of the kingdom, who, after a solemn consideration

Council-

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consideration of the subject, agreed in opinion, that the evil had arisen from the sins of the people, and that Providence had brought on them the chastisement of the English arms, because many persons of English race had been purchased for slaves by the Irish from pirates and merchants. A traffic of slaves, as at present in the Asiatic and African regions, had prevailed in Europe, but was gradually losing ground by the influence of the Christian religion, which, how much corrupted soever, still carries with it a spirit of compassionate meekness not otherwise extinguishable than by the zeal of bigotry. Though the English of earlier times had practised this abominable commerce to such a degree as to sell any persons in their power, even their children, to relieve their wants, as is attested by historians, probably the number of slaves of that nation, as the trade had declined, was at this time small in Ireland; yet the immediate liberation of all these, and remission to their country, which were decreed by this council, were considered as the most effectual means to avert the divine anger, and to procure the expulsion of the British adventurers.

How narrow soever, from the mental darkness of the age, we may conceive the views of the clergy on this occasion to have been, the measure was humane, and far from impolitic. It tended to the immediate annihilation of this vile traffic among the Irish, and to excite their spirits to more vigorous exertion, restored, as they might hope, to the Divine favour. And in fact the friends of O'Connor, for some time after the devastation of Meath, might have imagined

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an interposition of Providence on their side, since fortune seemed to change against the Britons, and to threaten their destruction by a series of adversities. CHAP.
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While Dermod, twice defeated in Breffney, which he had rashly invaded with too small a detachment, made with difficulty his escape, orders were sent from France by Henry, prohibiting the exportation of any supplies from England of men, arms, or provisions for the troops of Strongbow, and commanding all his subjects in Ireland to return home before the ensuing feast of Easter, under the penalty of high treason. This act of jealous power, which deprived the Earl of all succour from abroad, and even of the assistance of some of his knights and their followers who now forsook his standard, was quickly succeeded by the sickness and death of Dermod, which caused the defection of all his Irish allies, except a chief named Donald Kevanagh and some few others. In this forlorn state of his affairs, Dublin, which on his departure for Waterford, he had left under the command of Milo de Cogan, was suddenly assailed by a body of Ostmen, whom Hefculf had led from the Scottish islands. Unopposed in their landing, and furiously assaulting the eastern quarter, these troops had almost forced their way into the town, when Richard, brother of the governor, sallying from the southern side, and making a circuit, attacked them so fiercely in the rear, that, imagining a powerful reinforcement to have arrived, they fled in confusion to their ships, and were pursued with slaughter. This victory was tarnished by the

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tunes.

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the death of Hesculf, executed while a prisoner after the battle, denouncing with his last breath a more formidable attack in preparation against the Britons.

Lawrence O'Tool, archbishop of Dublin, who, at the arrival of the first British adventurers, had laboured in vain attempts to persuade the Irish chiefs to a suspension of their feuds, and a union against the foreign enemy, had now renewed his efforts with redoubled force in the destitute condition of Strongbow's adherents. Flying with ardour from tribe to tribe throughout the kingdom, he strenuously endeavoured, by every argument which his ingenuity could form, to enforce on the minds of the chiefs and their followers the expediency of seizing the fortunate opportunity, never again attainable, to exterminate or expel the British invaders. To set in motion every engine possible for the completion of his views, he sent emissaries with similar arguments to Godred, who, under the title of King of Man, governed that island with the Hebudes and Orkneys as a feudatory of Denmark. By the exertions of this prelate, Roderic O'Connor was enabled to invest the city of Dublin with an army stated in exaggerated accounts at thirty thousand men, while its harbour was blockaded by a fleet of thirty Danish vessels.

Siege.

Beleaguered for two months by a host of enemies, and oppressed at length by famine and disease, the troops composing the garrison of Dublin saw their affairs coming speedily to a crisis, and the necessity of quick decision, when intelligence was brought by the

the faithful Donald Kevanagh, that the gallant Fitzstephen was besieged in the fortress of Carrick by the men of Wexford, and must, unless relieved before the end of three days, fall into the hands of a revengeful and cruel foe. According to the determination of a council of war, proposals were made to Roderic through Lawrence the archbishop, who commanded on this occasion a body of troops under the monarch, that, on condition of peace, earl Strongbow should acknowledge the king of Connaught as his sovereign, and hold the principality of Leinster in vassalage under him. On the return of the prelate with an answer, probably framed by his own advice, that no other terms could be admitted than the total evacuation of Ireland by the Britons, Milo de Cogan declared his noble resolution rather to die in battle than confide in the faith and mercy of barbarous foes; and Maurice Fitzgerald, whose wife and children had been left with Fitzstephen in the fortress of Carrick, made a speech of which the following is briefly the substance:

“ Noble commanders and fellow-soldiers, have you forgotten on what inducements we came into Ireland? Have we come here to indulge ourselves in voluptuous repose, or to undergo the toils and perils of strenuous warfare? Where is our ancient dignity, our pristine firmness? Have we not sufficiently experienced the miseries of a blockade in sleepless nights, restless days, hunger, and the sickness of our valiant soldiers? Fitzstephen, the gallant Fitzstephen, who trod the path of conquest before

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us in this land, whose liberal soul deprived himself of great part of his garrison for our defence, sees himself now with his wife and children on the verge of captivity with vengeful and sanguinary ruffians. Shall we beg mercy from an enemy thirsting for our blood, and destitute of clemency? Or, on supposition that the foe is not inexorable, shall we prefer an ignominious life, saved by cowardly supplication, to the death of a warrior? Since all relief is interdicted from abroad by our angry sovereign, we are unfortunately reduced to such a dilemma, that, while we are Englishmen to the Irish, who are longing ardently to cut our throats, we are Irishmen to the English who are commanded to starve us. Since death by famine must be the consequence of delay, let us exert our force, while any force remains, for the safety of ourselves, and the deliverance of our friends. Rushing fiercely on our perhaps not prepared foes, with a firm determination of death or victory, we shall at least make our exit from the stage of life in the manner of soldiers, not of dogs."

The noble spirit of this warrior was caught by the assembly, who resolved to make a sally on the following day, and to assail with desperate valour the quarters of the foe. Six hundred men only could be spared for this enterprise, in which the van guard was led by Raymond, the second line by Milo, and the main body by Strongbow and Fitzgerald. The attack was pointed against the post of Rederic, where so little apprehension was entertained
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of such an attempt, that the monarch was bathing, and obliged to mingle half-naked with his flying troops, who were driven from their ground at the first onset with terrible slaughter. The other leaders of the Irish army, which is compared by doctor Campbell to a rope of sand, actuated by no sense of a common interest, attachment to their sovereign, or friendship for each other, fled instantly with their followers, as soon as they perceived the rout of the Connaught forces, leaving behind them, besides spoils of other forts, a quantity of provisions enough to support the garrison during a whole year. On this discomfiture of the besieging army, the Danish fleet, whose longer stay was useless, returned home and left the sea not less open than the land to the British adventurers.

While a dread of ignominy, superior to that of Carrick, death, aided by apprehensions of Irish perfidy, led the garrison of Dublin to safety and triumph, the defenders of Carrick were by a different line of conduct brought to destruction. This little fortress, founded on a rock, where still are seen the ruins of such a fabric, two miles above Wexford, on the eastern brink of the river Slaney, fenced naturally on all sides by precipices and a deep stream, was furnished only with a slender garrison, since a great part of his men had been detached by Fitzstephen to reinforce earl Strongbow for the defence of Dublin; yet the assailants were in every attempt repulsed with slaughter, and at length had recourse to the most execrable means of success which imagination

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can conceive. They assured the commander in a parley that Roderic, having taken Dublin by storm, and put the whole garrison to the sword, was in full march to make the same execution at Carrick; but, that if Fitzstephen, whose virtues they respected, would confide in the protection of the Wexfordians, they would ship himself and all his adherents for Wales before the vengeful prince could arrive with his army. When the truth of those assertions was most solemnly attested by two right reverend bishops in their pontifical robes, laying their hands, while they pronounced the oath, on the cross, the host, and the adored relics of saints, Fitzstephen accepted the terms proposed, and was instantly thrown into chains, while his followers were most inhumanly tortured and maimed, so that most of them expired under the violence of their sufferings. The instances of perfidy in the annals of Ireland, of which this appears the most forcible, are disgraceful in the extreme to the national character in former ages, and ought to instigate the Irish of the present age to the most inviolable regard for honour and humanity.

Strongbow, in his march for the relief of Carrick, which, though too late, he immediately commenced on the rout of Roderick's forces, fell into the extremity of danger, in an ambuscade, in a territory named Hi-drone, in the modern county of Carlow. The ambuscaders, making a sudden
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and impetuous onset with hideous yells, in a defile where the ground was disadvantageous to the Britons, amid bogs, woods, and precipices, threw the troops into almost fatal confusion, beating to the ground one of their most valiant leaders, Meyler Fitzhenry, who was with difficulty rescued. In the critical moment an arrow discharged by Nicholas a monk, by which fell O'Ryan, general of the assailants, decided the battle in favour of the English; but in their advance to Wexford, they had the mortification to hear of Fitzstephen's captivity, and of such a situation of affairs as rendered his relief at present impossible. The Wexfordians, to avoid the fury of the approaching Britons, had fired their town, and retired with their surviving prisoners to an ilet in the harbour named Holy Iland, whence they informed Strongbow by a message that, if any hostility should be attempted against them in this place of retreat, they would instantly put every one of their prisoners to death. Dreading the execution of this menace, the Earl turned aside, and took his way to Waterford, whence, after the transaction of some business, particularly the acquittal of the lord of Ossory, accused of disaffection by O'Brien of Thomond, he marched to Ferns, the regal seat of the Leinsterian monarchs. Here, when he had made some regulations, and punished his enemies among the toparchs of Leinster, particularly O'Byrn of Wicklow, whom he put to death, he received a sum-

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mons from Henry, commanding his immediate attendance, a summons judged absolutely necessary to be obeyed by the Earl, who, appointing governors to the several garrisons, repaired instantly to England.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

Proceedings of King Henry—His landing at Waterford—Proceedings of the Irish—Submissions of Irish Lords—Refusal of O'Connor &c.—Synod of Cashel—Departure of Henry—State of Ireland at his Departure—Troubles of Henry—Insurrections of the Irish—Strongbow Chief Governor—Exploits of Raymond—Submission of O'Connor—Hostilities in Thomond and Desmond—Death and Character of Strongbow—Fitzandelm's Administration—Invasion of Ulster by John De Courcey—Of Connaught by Milo De Cogan—Various Transactions—Appointments of Hugh De Lacy—Death of Lawrence O'Toole—Murder of Cogan—Fitzstephen's Fate—Removal of Lacy—Braosa—Bad System.

HENRY had been engaged in a vexatious and even perilous contest with one of his own subjects, Becket archbishop of Canterbury, who, protected by the Pope, had violently opposed a body of regulations called the constitutions of Clarendon, enacted in the year 1164 for the independence of the civil on the ecclesiastical authority. After a seeming accomodation, brought to a conclusion with tedious difficulty, the intolerable insolence of the inordinately ambitious prelate forced some passionate exclamations of complaint from the king, in consequence of which the archbishop was assassinated in church at divine service by four knights in revenge for their monarch's

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Henry.

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monarch's wrongs. The news of this unfortunate event, which threatened to arm the papal power to the ruin of Henry, arrived at his court in southern France while Raymond Le Gros was petitioning his majesty in favour of Strongbow. Raymond, on the king's proclamation, which interdicted supplies for the adventurers in the Irish expedition, and commanded their return, had been dispatched by the earl with supplicatory letters, declaring that the adventurers themselves, and whatever acquisitions they should make in Ireland, were at the disposal of their sovereign. By the astonishment and grief of Henry at the fatal accident of Becket's death, which precluded for some time all business of secondary concern, Raymond had been obliged to return to his distressed associates without any answer, while archbishop O'Toole was forming a combination of Irish and Ostmen for the siege of Dublin. The great abilities, activity and vigilance of Henry warded the blow levelled at him by his enemies in the papal court, and, finding leisure to embark in the Irish expedition, he had come into England, where he utterly disavowed all the proceedings of Strongbow's adherents and summoned the earl to his presence to answer for his conduct.

1172. Strongbow, waiting on the king at Newnham near Gloucester, and surrendering to him all his maritime fortresses with a territory around Dublin, was, by the intercession of Hervey of Mountmorres, received into the royal favour, and permitted to retain in perpetuity all his other Irish possessions under Henry and his heirs. Accompanied by this nobleman, the monarch

monarch proceeded through South-Wales to Pembroke, seizing all the castles of the chieftains in these parts, under pretence of their having offended his majesty in the aiding or abetting of his subjects in their invasion of Ireland. When he had finished his preparations, he performed his devotion in the church of Saint-David's, imploring a blessing on his arms employed under the authority, and in the cause, of the church; and, sailing from Milford-haven, he arrived in the harbour of Waterford, on the feast of Saint-Luke, in October of the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, with a fleet of two hundred and forty ships, and an army of four hundred knights and four thousand inferior soldiers.

The news of Henry's preparations for the invasion of Ireland seem to have caused little or no commotion among its inhabitants, whose chieftains may generally have regarded with indifference, perhaps with malignant pleasure, the approaching downfall of their nominal sovereign, unconscious of a common interest, and severally confining their hopes and fears to their local concerns. In the absence of Strongbow in England, a furious assault had been made on the city of Dublin, by O'Ruarc of Breffney, and repelled by Milo De Cogan the governor, with the loss of many on both sides, particularly a son of O'Ruarc who fell in the conflict. The men of Wexford, fearing the vengeance due to their atrocious perfidy, had sent emissaries to Henry, while he lay at Pembroke, beseeching him to accept of their allegiance as humble subjects, and complaining of Fitzstephen's aggression, whom they had taken, they

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they said, in arms as a traitor to his sovereign, and reserved for the judgment and disposal of his Majesty. Commending their conduct, and assuring them that this chieftain, and the rest of his offending subjects, should be brought to trial, and receive punishment according to their deserts, this politic monarch made way for a favourable opinion of his government among the Irish, while he took the most effectual means to prevent Fitzstephen's murder. On his arrival now in Waterford, the Wexfordians waited on him, producing their prisoner, whom Henry with stern rebuke remanded to prison, to the joy of this rude people, ignorant and unsuspicious of statesmen's finesse.

Submis-
sions,

No thoughts of opposition to this great monarch seem to have been entertained by the southern chieftains, who on the contrary came emulously forward to make their submissions. The first was Dermot Mac-Arthy prince of Desmond, who presented himself to Henry on the day after that of his landing, and surrendered his principality, which, except the city of Cork, was restored to him in perpetuity under the conditions of homage and tribute. Advancing to Lismore, where he gave orders for the erection of a fort, and thence to Cashel, the monarch received successively the submissions of O'Brien of Thomond, Donchad of Ossory, and O'Faflan of Decies, while the inferior toparchs of Munster seemed eager to outrun one another in the promptitude of their obedience, and forcible impressions were made on the minds of all by the grandeur, the gracious condescension, and the munificence of their new sovereign.

sovereign. Arriving thence at Wexford, he permitted intercession in favour of Fitzstephen, who, surrendering to his majesty that town with its district, received the investiture of all his other possessions. In his progress to Dublin, when he had placed garrisons in Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Wexford, the lords of Leinster acknowledged themselves in due form his vassals, even O'Ruarc of Breffney, hitherto the determined enemy of the English, and partizan of O'Connor.

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While Henry, with a magnificence of which they could have conceived no idea, was preparing to entertain the Irish lords who had become his vassals, at the ensuing feast of Christmas, in a temporary structure of great size, framed of hurdles for the purpose, in the south-eastern suburb of Dublin, he dispatched Hugh de Lacy and William Fitzandelm with a body of troops against Roderic O'Connor, who, strongly posted with his Connaught forces on the banks of the Shannon, could neither be persuaded to submit, nor be attacked by these leaders with hopes of success. As the season of winter prevented such operations of the army as might be requisite for the reduction of this monarch, and of O'Nial, the powerful dynast of Ulster, who also declined submission, the king of England, according to his original stipulation with the Pope, turned his attention to the church, and summoned a general assembly of the Irish clergy at Cashel, where also attended the lords of Ireland who owned him as their sovereign. In this at once convention of lay princes, and ecclesiastical synod, where presided Christian, bishop of Lismore,

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Lisfmore, as legate of the Pope, not sanctioned by the presence of Gelafius, primate of Armagh, the authority of Henry, as the sovereign of Ireland, was formally recognized, and some ordonnances respecting religion were framed, of which only two are worth notice; one which exempted the persons of the clergy from the jurisdiction of civil courts in criminal cases, and their lands from all secular taxes; and one which enjoined a perfect conformity of all the churches in Ireland with that of England, consequently at that time with that of Rome.

1173. The ostensible object of Henry's invasion, the spiritual subjection of Ireland to the see of Rome, was by this decree so fully accomplished, that the great majority of the Irish have ever since, through all revolutions, invariably adhered to the papal jurisdiction, and are perhaps at this day the most attached to it of all people on earth; but the real object, the civil subjection of this island to the crown of England, was far from being obtained. When this monarch had made such regulations as time and opportunity allowed, and was preparing to extend and secure his conquests as soon as the season should permit, he received at Wexford, after he had remained three months in Dublin, an alarming piece of news, the earlier arrival of which had been prevented by a tempestuous winter, that Albert and Theodine, two cardinals, who had been sent by the Pope to enquire into the causes of Becket's murder, were long expecting his majesty's arrival in Normandy, and summoned him to appear before them under pain of excommunication and an interdict on his dominions;

dominions; acts of spiritual power, sufficient in those melancholy times of intellectual darkness to shake to their foundations the thrones of the mightiest princes. Henry, fully sensible of the danger, embarked at Wexford, on the feast of Easter in the year 1173, having made some arrangements for the administration of affairs in his absence, and, going ashore in Pembrokehire, hastened thence to Normandy.

That Henry, obliged thus prematurely to depart from Ireland, *left not behind him in this country one true subject more than he had found in it at his first arrival*, is a just observation of Sir John Davies', in his treatise styled *a discovery of the causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued until the beginning of the reign of James the first*. By the institutions of Henry, left fatally imperfect by unseasonable interruption, the inhabitants of this island became severally subject to two very different forms of government, the British colonists to the Anglo-Norman, the ancient natives to the Irish under a new sovereignty. The condition of the Irish princes, who had submitted, was no otherwise altered than that they professed allegiance to the king of England instead of the king of Connaught. Their Brehon laws, their ancient customs, their modes of succession, and their mutual wars, waged as if by independent potentates, remained as much in force after, as they had been before the English invasion. The British colonists on the other hand were in the same political situation with their fellow subjects in England, and governed by English laws. The king, reserving as his
immediate

State of
Ireland.

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immediate property the maritime towns and some districts, parceled the rest of the surrendered lands among the leaders of his troops, which they were to possess by military tenure or feudal right, that is, bound to the payment of homage to his majesty with a small tribute, and to the maintenance of certain numbers of knights and inferior soldiers for his service, they were otherwise, each in his own territory, absolute and hereditary lords or princes. These lords or barons parceled in like manner their lands to knights or gentlemen, who, instead of rent, gave military service, each furnishing on occasion a number of soldiers according to his portion.

The territories acquired by himself and his British subjects in Ireland were formed by Henry into shires or counties, with sheriffs and other magistrates, on the English model; which counties, afterwards enlarged, formed what was called the *English Pale*, or that division of the island within which the English law was acknowledged. But even within the Pale were many septs of Irish governed entirely by their ancient laws, as were the inhabitants of all other parts of the country. Among the acts of this monarch while in Ireland was a charter, by which he granted the city of Dublin to the citizens of Bristol, with the same privileges as those which they enjoyed at home. By another charter he granted the city of Waterford to the Ostmen, with English laws and the rights of English subjects. To provide for the uninterrupted administration of affairs in his absence, a statute was enacted by the king in council, empowering the chancellor, treasurer, chief justices,
chief

chief baron, keeper of the rolls, and king's serjeant at law, to elect, with the consent of the nobles of the land, a successor to the chief governor in case of his death, vested with the full authority of the king's vicegerent until the royal pleasure should in that particular be notified. Hugh de Lacy was appointed chief governor, with Robert Fitzstephen and Maurice Fitzgerald as his coadjutors. To de Lacy was granted the territory of Meath already in possession of English troops; and to John de Courcy, an adventurous baron, the whole province of Ulster, provided that he could make a conquest of that unsubmitting part of Ireland.

The consequences of the unsettled state in which Henry had been forced to leave his acquisitions in Ireland began to appear soon after his departure. The rear-guard of Strongbow, who had marched into Ossally to enforce the payment of his tribute from a toparch named O'Dempsey, sustained in his return a furious assault, with some loss of men, particularly Robert de Quiny his standard-bearer and son-in-law. O'Ruarc of Breffney, so often mentioned, was with many of his followers put to death on the hill of Tarah in Meath, where he had met in conference Hugh de Lacy to settle some disputes, and had, according to English accounts, formed an ambuscade for the destruction of the chief governor, which by prudent precautions was counteracted, while by the Irish the charge of treachery is retorted on the foreigners. These petty hostilities were followed by insurrections of almost all the chieftains who had so lately sworn allegiance, when they learned that

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that the English monarch, pressed by a combination of enemies, particularly his unnatural sons engaged in rebellion against him, was so far from being able to revisit Ireland, or to send new forces thither, that he was obliged to call to his assistance great part of the troops which he had left in this country.

Troubles
of Henry.

The affectionate zeal of Henry for the securing of splendid establishments for his sons was ill requited by these ungrateful and misguided youths. To insure the succession to young Henry the eldest, he had made him his associate in the throne by a solemn coronation; and the imperious prince, persuaded by Lewis the seventh of France, to whose daughter Margaret he was married, that he had a right by this to the actual possession immediately of sovereign power, attempted to enforce his unrighteous claim by arms, and was assisted by his brothers, who made particular claims, by many barons, and by the French and Scottish monarchs. In the dangerous war thus excited against the king, the alacrity of Earl Strongbow, who hastened into Normandy with the utmost speed to his assistance, gained in such degree his confidence, that he constituted him chief governor of Ireland, and sent him back with discretionary powers for the management of its turbulent affairs.

1174. The earl on his arrival found the army so dissatisfied with Hervey of Mountmorres their leader, that he was obliged to transfer the command to Raymond le Gros, who began immediately to act with vigour, though his force was much diminished, as the new chief governor had orders to send the garrisons of
Waterford

Waterford and other towns to join the royal troops in France and England.

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Raymond, having ravaged Ofally and Lismore, marched back to Waterford along the coast, conveying thither his booty in some small vessels. Attacked in this posture on sea and land, he was victorious on both elements. A fleet of thirty barks from Cork, which town, on its evacuation by the king's troops, had been resumed by Mac-Arthy, prince of Desmond, sustained a defeat with the loss of eight vessels from the English on board of the transports; and Mac-Arthy himself, who had come with a body of troops to second the operations of his little navy, was routed by the British leader. But fortune soon changed on the resignation of Raymond, who, disgusted by Strongbow's refusal to give him in marriage his sister Basilia, retired into Wales, leaving the forces to the conduct of Hervey. A detachment of Ostmen from the garrison of Dublin, marching to join the Earl and Hervey at Cashel, was surprised at Thurles by O'Brien of Thomond, and driven back with the slaughter of about four hundred of their number. Retreating to Waterford with precipitation, while the Irish chieftains, even Donald Kevanagh, his hitherto faithful adherent, rose every where in arms, the earl acceded to the demands of Raymond, and recalled this warrior to the scene of action.

Such was the pressure of affairs that on the day after that of Basilia's nuptials, which were celebrated at Wexford, the bridegroom began his march for Meath, where king Roderic had wasted the lands,
and

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and demolished the English fortresses. This monarch had retreated before the arrival of the earl and his son-in-law, whose forces committed a slaughter of about a hundred and fifty in the rear of the flying enemy. Having reduced the province of Leinster to temporary quiet, when the people of Waterford, who had attempted to massacre the English garrison, were subdued, and Donald Kevanagh met his fate in a skirmish against some Irish partizans of the colonists, the British commanders turned their arms against Thomond or North-Munster. Raymond with a chosen band of six hundred men advanced to the attack of Limerick, which being seated on the Shannon, fifty miles from the ocean, seemed to defy his efforts as the river was interposed, and the bridges previously broken: but the English, discovering a place where the stream, though not without the utmost peril, was fordable, passed to the opposite side with the loss of only three men, and struck such a panic into their opponents by this act of desperate valour, that, slaughtering the run-aways without resistance, they entered the town in triumph. With the forcing of this passage the fragment ends abruptly of Irish history left us by Maurice Regan, the secretary of Dermot, which generally agrees with the more full relation of Giraldus Cambrensis.

Submission
of O'Connor.
NOT.

Fearing an attack of the English forces, and very justly dissident of efficient aid from the Irish princes who professed allegiance, Roderic O'Connor at length made submission to Henry, who by the wisdom and vigorous execution of his plans had vanquished his unnatural sons and their ungenerous allies. For this

this purpose three commissioners from Roderic, his chancellor, stiled in the old English manner, Master Lawrence, Catholicus archbishop of Tuam, and the abbot of Saint Brandan, waited on the English monarch at Windfor, where the treaty was concluded in the year 1175. By the treaty of submission Roderic, retaining all his rights as monarch of Ireland, with exception of the English pale, was bound only to the payment of homage and tribute to the king of England as his liege lord. A tenth of all the merchantable hides from the lands of Ireland, except those which pertained to the English monarch and his barons, was to constitute the tribute.

The homage of its nominal sovereign was of little avail, as might be expected, for the pacification of Ireland, or its obedience to the English crown. In the year 1176 Limerick was besieged by O'Brien of Thomond, who, on the march of Raymond for its relief, took post with his army to intercept him in a defile near Cashel. With a force of eighty knights, two hundred inferior cavalry, and three hundred archers, Raymond forced the entrenchments of the foe, while his Irish confederates of Kinselah and Offory stood spectators of the combat, ready to rush with slaughter on whichever should prove the defeated party. When this victorious leader had received hostages from O'Brien who submitted, and from O'Connor who had promised such pledges to Henry, he led his forces into Desmond at the invitation of Mac-Arthy, who had been thrown into prison by his own son, the usurper of his principality. Raymond, who received a tract of land in Kerry, for

Hostilities.

1176.

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the service performed on this occasion, restored the injured prince to his dominion, who requited his son's unnatural conduct with imprisonment and death. The English commander had scarcely accomplished this laudable achievement when he received a letter from his wife Basilia informing him that "her great tooth, which had been so long aching, was at last fallen from the socket." Understanding the death of Strongbow to be thus *mysteriously* expressed to prevent the bad consequences which would arise from the news of the event in case of the letter's interception, he hastened to Dublin, committing the custody of Limerick to O'Brien, since he was unable to afford any English troops for its garrison. The Irish chieftain, having taken a solemn oath to guard the city for the English monarch, and to restore it at the royal pleasure, set fire to it in four quarters, as soon as he perceived the departure of Raymond's army, declaring that this town should no longer continue to be the nest of strangers.

Strong-
bow's death
and character.

Richard de Clare, so much more commonly known by the name of Strongbow, who died in Dublin in consequence of a mortification in his foot, is described by Giraldus as a man of tall stature, an effeminate face, a slender neck, a small voice, a good conformation in most other respects, a sanguine complexion, grey eyes, liberal and courteous manners, an insinuating address, a temper not subject to be easily depressed or elated, an aptitude to obey in peace and to command with dignity in war, a diffidence in the forming of military plans, but such a vigour in execution, that in battle he was the standard

ard on which the soldiers fixed their eyes, and by whose motions they were determined either to advance or to retreat. By Eva one child only survived him; a daughter four years of age, who ten years after became the wife of William earl Marshal.

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The jealousy of Henry, excited by the envy of Fitzandelm. Hervey of Mountmorres, had summoned Raymond into England before his late expedition to Limerick: but the four commissioners delegated for that purpose, were so convinced of the extreme urgency of affairs, when the troops refused to march under any other general, that they had suspended the execution of the summons; and now, influenced by the same views, on the death of Strongbow, they concurred with the council, by whom Raymond was elected chief governor till the royal pleasure should be made known. Yet the monarch still diffident, notwithstanding the most favourable report of his commissioners, deputed William Fitzandelm for his vicegerent, a man prepossessed against the original adventurers, unfit for vigorous measures, rapacious, and more intent on profit for himself and his train of adherents, than on the interest of the English colony in general. 1177. At Waterford was convened an assembly of the Irish clergy, where was with great solemnity promulged the brief of pope Alexander, by Vivian his legate, with the bull of Adrian, constituting king Henry the sovereign lord of Ireland, with tremendous denunciations against any who should presume to question his authority. Fitzandelm next proceeded by craft and violence to dispossess the original adventurers of their best settlements, leaving still however to these

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brave men all the labours and perils of defence against the natives, while whatever was valuable within the pale was engrossed by himself and his dependants. Oppressed by the jealousy of their sovereign, the common lot of the meritorious, the most enterprising of the colonists engaged in two expeditions in quest of new settlements, the one under John de Courcey into Ulster, the other under Milo de Cogan into Connaught.

De Cour-
cey.

With a mighty strength of body and hardiness of constitution was De Courcey endowed; with a spirit not less undaunted and impetuous; yet neither free from superstition, as he presaged by diviners the conquest of the North; nor heedless of precaution, as by his marriage with the daughter of Godred, feudatory king of Mann, he secured himself against the danger of Danish opposition. With a band of about five hundred men he arrived, after a four days' march, at the city of Down, which he seized and fortified. Though leave had been given to De Courcey by the king of England to attempt the conquest of Ulster, yet, since the submission of Roderic, as head of the Irish princes, appeared to have included the peace of this province, the invasion of Down was regarded as an aggression unprovoked. The remonstrances of the Pope's legate, Vivian, proving ineffectual, Dunleve, prince of Down, took arms, with the aid of confederate lords, and three battles were fought, with victory to De Courcey. In the third, however, though the most decisive, the English troops and their leader were on the brink of total excision. Conducting three great herds of cattle, the
plunder

plunder of Mac-Mahon's territory, an Irish toparch who had revolted after a feigned alliance, the English army was by a sudden onset in a dangerous defile, thrown into confusion, and suffered great loss in its retreat to a more advantageous post. Here, where they must have shortly perished by fight or famine, a nocturnal surprise was resolved; as the Irish host was found in a state of unguarded security by Armoric of Saint Lawrence, a valiant knight, who had with peril explored the enemies position. A march with deep silence, and a furious onset with loud uproar, were so successful with De Courcey, that the Irish were butchered without resistance. Scarcely two hundred are said to have escaped the carnage, while only two of the assailants fell. Mac-Mahon had been previously slain by the troops who fought while they were in the act of retreating.

The expedition of De Cogan was quite unsuccessful, nor are we informed of any plausible pretext for his invasion of Connaught. He was induced, however, by the magnificent promises of Murrough, a son of Roderic, who meditated a scheme of either vengeance or ambition. His army, consisting of forty knights, two hundred other horsemen, and three hundred archers, was reinforced at Roscommon by the junction of Murrough's band, but the confederate forces were defeated without a battle. Driving away their cattle, secreting their provisions, and even burning their churches, an act of profanation with the Irish altogether new, the inhabitants of the invaded country rendered it a desert. Churches had been hitherto sanctuaries inviolate, where provisions

and

De Cogan.

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and valuable effects repositied remained untouched, guarded by religious awe, amid the violence of most fierce contention. The English, in their marches, less attentive to the sanctity of consecrated buildings than to the necessity of sustenance, had commonly with little scruple supplied their wants from these asylums, and in cases of opposition had committed violence beyond their first intention. To regulate the business, a synod, convened in Dublin by Vivian the legate, gave leave, by an ordinance, to the English troops to furnish themselves from the churches with necessary victuals on payment of their just value. But the forces of De Cogan, deprived of this resource, were obliged to turn homeward, lest inglorious and foul death by famine should be their fate. The enemy, who had not dared to face De Cogan while he advanced, now, in his retreat, hung with slaughter on his rear; and Murrough, the offending prince, was, according to the horrid practice of the Irish in those days, adjudged to the loss of fight.

Various
Transacti-
ons.

For some years we find few transactions of importance. Fitzandelm, the evils of whose administration became at length known to Henry, was removed; and Hugh de Lacy, a man of tried abilities, for the office, was appointed in his place, with the title of Lord procurator general, who laboured to repair the losses, and extend the force, of the English colony.

1178. Cogan and Fitzstephen, to whom the lands of Desmond were granted by their sovereign, came to a composition with the prince of that country, who, surrendering to them seven cantreds contiguous to the city of Cork, was allowed to continue lord of the remaining

remaining twenty-four; but Philip de Braosa, who had a similar claim to Limerick, retreated with fear to Cork, when he found that the Irish chiefs, determined on resistance, had on his approach to Limerick set fire to what remained, or had been repaired, of that unfortunate city. Lacy, having restored the English power in Meath, which had been lost in the administration of his predecessor, and encouraged a coalition of English and Irish by his marriage with a daughter of Roderic O'Connor, was assailed by the calumnies of the envious, and recalled by his sovereign, who, soon becoming sensible of his mistake, reinstated him in his government after an interval of only three months. In the north De Courcey maintained his ground, though worsted in two battles by a prince of the territory called Argial, who had treacherously burned a ship of his near Newry, and massacred all the crew.

The interruptions of the colonial government by regal jealousy might have proved fatal to the interest of the settlers; but from feuds among the Irish princes, baleful and atrocious, little advantage was taken of the English weakness. In the words of Doctor Leland, "the imperfect and jejune accounts, which remain, of the local dissensions and provincial contests in Ireland, at this period, give a shocking idea of the state of this unhappy country. Treachery and murder were revenged by treachery and murder, so as to perpetuate a succession of outrages the most horrid and disgraceful to humanity. A young prince of the Hi-Nial race, and heir apparent to the rights of that family, fell by the hand of a rival lord: this rival

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rival was killed in revenge. The partizans on each side, as the several powers prevailed, were butchered with every circumstance of triumphant barbarity. In Connaught the blinded son of Roderic was rescued from prison by his partizans, and the flame of dissension rekindled." Other sons of this unfortunate monarch were in arms, and war was so fiercely waged, that in one battle fell sixteen young lords, the heirs apparent of the ruling families in this quarter of the island. Desmond and Thomond were in like manner barbarously distracted, and the toparchs of Leinster were mutually actuated by the same ferocious hate. Without vain disquisitions concerning the right of Henry's claim, benevolence must lament that a complete subjugation and settlement of Ireland under a regular government were not effected by that wise, but much agitated monarch.

1181. In the winter of 1181 died in exile in Normandy Lawrence O'Tool, archbishop of Dublin, famous for his determinate opposition to the first English adventurers, also celebrated for monastic virtues. Apparently acquiescing in Henry's government, but strenuously remonstrating in the council of Lateran in Rome, in 1179, against the conduct of the colonists, he received a mandate from the king interdicting his return. An Englishman, John Comyn, succeeded, recommended by Henry to the clergy of
1183. Dublin, whose election pope Lucius confirmed. In less than two years after fell Milo de Cogan by the foulest perfidy, and worse than immediate death attended the heroic Fitzstephen, the first English leader

leader in this period who had touched the shores of Ireland. Journeying from Cork to Lismore to confer with some citizens of Waterford, Cogan, with six others, one of whom was Ralph Fitzstephen, a son of Robert, married to his daughter, was assassinated by Mac-Tire, an Irishman whom he had regarded as his firmly attached friend, and who had invited him to his house for this fell purpose with the strongest professions of cordial hospitality. Mac Arthy of Desmond instantly attacked the city of Cork with all his force, which Fitzstephen, stunned with grief, was hardly able to defend. The garrison, reinforced by Raymond le Gros, with troops from Wexford, conveyed by sea, drove Mac-Arthy to submission; but an accumulated load of sorrow, agitations, and fatigues, had so fatally depressed Fitzstephen, who had some time before lost another son, that he was found, on the arrival of these troops, deprived of his reason.

As Maurice Fitzgerald had died six years before, and Herveý of Mountmorres retired into a monastery, the original commanders of the English in Ireland were mostly now departed from the stage. Among those who were sent by Henry to supply their places were Richard de Cogan, brother of Milo, and Philip Barry, both officers of tried courage and conduct. With Philip came his brother Gerald Barry, better known by the name of Cambrensis from Wales his country, a confidential ecclesiastic, appointed by Henry for tutor to his youngest son prince John, and now sent to inspect the state of Ireland for the information

New
Comers.

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information of this prince, whom his father intended to constitute its governor. This churchman, who has left us a history of the English transactions in Ireland in this period, erroneously stiled a history of the conquest of Ireland, acted, together with the new prelate of Dublin, in so insolent a manner to the Irish clergy as to give new cause for national hatred. The mutual reproaches of the two parties in their Synods must appear little honourable to the administrators of the church of either nation in those days; the Irish charging the English clergy with excesses of lewdness; the English the Irish with intemperance of palate, barbarism, falsehood, and treachery. A reply is preserved made to Cambrensis by the prelate of Cashel, who, according to the miserable superstition of the age, regarded the pestilent Becket as a martyr. When the Briton contemptuously remarked that "the calendar of the Irish church was destitute of martyrs," the Hibernian made answer that "none of his countrymen had been so flagitious as to kill the servants of the Lord; but that now, with Englishmen among them, and Henry for their sovereign, they might expect martyrs enough in future for the honour of their church." To add political to religious discontent, the government was transferred from Lacy to Philip de Braosa, who, spirited only in acts of rapacity and oppression, abused his power to the great injury of Ireland, until his place was taken by another, whose maladministration brought nearly ruin on the colony. Thus even in the reign
of

of one of the wisest and ablest of the English monarchs was adopted a system detrimental to this island, the removing of its governors, and interrupting of plans which promised the promotion of its welfare. CHAP.
VII.

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C H A P. VIII.

Prince John, Lord of Ireland—Irish Lords insulted—War—Slaughter of the English—De Courcey chief governor—Distractions—Deposition and death of Roderic O'Connor—Cathal the bloody-handed—Lacy's administration—Desperate battle of Armo-ric's band—William Petit and Earl Marshal—Defeats of the English—Hamo de Valois—Meyler Fitzhenry—De Burgo—Carragh—O'Nial—Reduction of De Burgo—Of De Courcey—King John's expedition—The Lacies and Braosa—Sham submissions—State of Ireland at the end of John's reign.

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John's ap-
pointment.

SO early as the year 1178 prince John, the youngest son of Henry, had been by his father, in a council of barons and prelates, nominated Lord of Ireland, apparently its feudatory monarch or perpetual viceroy, in place, as it were, of Roderic O'Connor, whose rights, as a subordinate king, recognized in his treaty of submission, seem to have been overlooked on this occasion by Henry, who may have considered that these rights would in course of time become obsolete by the extension of the English colony. The prince entered not into the function of this dignity until the year 1185, the eighteenth of his age, when he landed at Waterford from a fleet of sixty vessels, with a train of Norman courtiers, English expectants, and grave churchmen, among

among whom was Giraldus, who had returned to his pupil. Flattered by the exalted rank, and awed by the numerous forces of their new chief governor, the Irish lords, even those who had been hitherto most refractory, hastened from all parts with so lively a cheerfulness to pay their homage, that important consequences might have resulted from prudent management in this administration; but soon changed by misconduct from the smiling aspect of courtly deference and peaceful submission, the whole country, with scarcely an exception, assumed the grim visage of devouring war.

Those chieftains of Leinster, who had always adhered to the English interest, were naturally foremost to make their obeisance. The Irish garb, the strange form of the hair, the bushy beard, and other national characteristics, new and uncouth in the eyes of the young Normans, the prince's train, excited at first view a spirit of mirth, which prudence or true politeness would have concealed; but when these unpolished lords, possessed of a high idea of their own respectability of rank, advanced with perfect ease to kiss the prince, in the cordial mode of salutation peculiar to the Irish, they were pushed rudely back by the attendants, while all the company bursting into loud laughter, plucked their beards in derision, and otherwise treated them with contumely. With vengeance in their hearts, the chiefs retiring met others who were hastening to the prince's court, and related to them, perhaps in heightened colours, the indignities with which their former loyalty and present zeal had been requited.

The

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The intelligence was rapidly diffused, and since the firm allies of the English monarch had been treated with an outrageous contempt, intolerable to the proud spirit of Irish lords, proud from the imagined splendour of their lineage and monarchical sway, what was to be expected, said men in general, by those who had been fiercely hostile to the English government? To make resentment burn with still greater fury, the minions of the prince, rapacious as insolent, seized the lands of those Irish who held under English lords by English tenure within the pale, and attempted also by pretended grants and legal fraud to treat in like manner the early British colonists.

Was.

The insulted lords and dispossessed tenants of Leinster, flying to their compatriots in Connaught and elsewhere, made such representations as induced the Irish princes to suspend their private feuds and unite their forces against the common foe. From all sides poured the storm of war on the British settlements, while the gay courtiers, and new soldiers brought from England by prince John, thrunk into fortified places distant from the danger, leaving the field of defence to the veteran colonists. Of lands the devastation, of men, in the first fury of assault, the slaughter was horrible. Whole bands with their leaders fell beneath the weapons of the enemy, as the garrison of Ardfinnan, the troops of Robert Barry at Lismore, those of Robert de la Poer in Ossory, and those of Canton and Fitz-Hugh in other quarters. Cork was preserved by the valour of Theobald Fitzwalter, founder of the noble family
of

of Ormond, and Meath by that of William Petit; but here was treacherously murdered Hugh de Lacy, whose wisdom, justice, and knowledge of Irish affairs, had, with military talents, eminently qualified him for the office of chief governor. Erecting a fortress on the site of an ancient abbey, when the first incursion of the enemy had been repelled, he was assassinated with an axe by one of his labourers, an Irish peasant, who fled exulting, as the avenger of sacrilege, to his countrymen in arms. After eight months of rueful disorder, Henry, who, embarrassed by weighty matters, had shewn almost as much weakness in the management of Ireland as of ability in that of England, informed at length of the ruinous effects of the prince's maladministration, recalled him, and appointed John de Courcey chief governor. 1186.

The dissensions of the Irish princes, which revived after the first fury of their assault on the English settlements, left room for the new deputy to arrange his forces for defence. In Ulster a deposed prince of the O'Loughlan family regained his command on the murder of his rival, but, falling in a battle with the English, left the subject of dispute for the swords of new competitors; while, in Connaught, the sons of Roderic, in rebellion against their father, forced him to take refuge in the monastery of Cong, where he died at the age of almost ninety, twelve years after, in 1198, a prince of whose character we can hardly pretend to form a judgment from the meagre accounts transmitted to us. Connor Moienmoy, who among his sons, on his

De Cour-
cey's go-
vernment.

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his retirement, gained the ascendancy, was after a short interval assassinated by a brother; that brother in revenge by a son of the murdered Connor; and the province distracted by party rage, remained in a state of anarchy, till at length in the fraternal feud; Cathal, surnamed the bloody-handed from his feats of homicide, established for a time his authority over Connaught, and threatened to reinstate the monarchy of Ireland, lost by the miscarriages of Roderic his father. In the mean time De Courcay, though repulsed with loss in an invasion of Connaught, where, surrounded by the armies of Thomond and Connor Moienmoy, he was near destruction with all his forces, and with difficulty effected a retreat, maintained, without being able to extend, the English settlements, intimidating the Irish by various exploits, particularly the storming and burning of Armagh, till on the death of king Henry, in the year 1189, he found himself superseded by the appointment of a new deputy.

1189.

Lacy's administration.

Engaged in foreign wars, Richard the First, the successor of his father Henry on the English throne, interfered not in the government of Ireland, which, during his whole reign, was left to the management of his younger brother John, as lord of this island, according to his former appointment. This prince, less attentive to the merit of a subject than to the indulgence of his own capricious humour, nominated for lord-deputy Hugh de Lacy, who had contrived to gain his favour, son of the late brave officer of that name. Conscious of his own merit in the important services which he had performed, and
fired

fired with indignation at the disregard thus manifested, De Courcey retired into Ulster, where, declining to acknowledge the authority of the new chief governor, he affected the state of an independent baron. This dissension of the lords, which betrayed the weakness of English government in Ireland, was matter of encouragement to their Irish enemies; and Cathal, prince of Connaught, calling aloud on his countrymen to exterminate the foreigners, prepared in conjunction with O'Brien of Thomond, to attack their settlements with all his force. The vanity of this warrior, who affected to restore the monarchy of Ireland, was raised high by the success of a battle, which in fact was more glorious to the vanquished than the victors.

Armoric of Saint-Lawrence, with a band of thirty horsemen and two hundred infantry, was, on his march to join De Courcey, through a part of Cathal's territory, intercepted by that prince with a numerous army. As a retreat was impracticable, except by the cavalry, who after some hesitation resolved to share the fate of their companions, a determination was formed that, with exception of two, who were appointed to view the scene from an eminence; and give an account to De Courcey, all should perish fighting, and sell their lives as dearly as possibly by a slaughter of the enemy. The cavalry, plunging their swords into their horses, to deprive the foe of such a booty, embodied with the foot; and the whole band moved onward with a face of such composure and confidence as astonished the hostile army. Man is a formidable being, when

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with calm decision he renounces life, intent on the death of others. While power to strike remained with any soldier, his weapons were employed, and a thousand corpses of the foe accompanied those of the English heroes. Elated with an advantage purchased with such loss, Cathal founded an abbey, called *De Colle Victoriæ*, on the field of action, and thus, says doctor Leland, "by this weak and inconsiderate mark of triumph, raised a trophy to the romantic valour of his enemies."

Marshal.

While an accidental conflagration, which destroyed almost all Dublin, was added to the disasters of this alarming time, Lacy was superseded by the appointment of William Petit, and he soon after by that of William, earl marshal of England, to the office of chief governor. Unprosperous was the administration of this nobleman, though much had been expected from his Irish connexion, as he was husband of Isabella, the daughter of earl Strongbow by the princess of Leinster. Though partial successes attended sometimes the arms of the English, favoured by some circumstances, as the death of Daniel O'Brien, prince of Thomond, yet, in the fluctuating tide of war, the advantage remained on the side of their opponents. Their fortresses in Munster were levelled by Cathal in a short incursion: They were thrice defeated by Mac-Arthy of Desmond, who drove them from Limerick: They were defeated near Cork in a much more decisive battle, by the forces of Connaught united with those of other lordships; and that city was after a long blockade surrendered to Mac-Arthy.

Affairs

Affairs were little bettered in the government of Hamo de Valois, who, succeeding in 1197, seized some possessions of the church, particularly lands pertaining to the see of Dublin, to support the expences of his administration, notwithstanding the clamours of archbishop Comyn, and pretended miracles, tokens of divine displeasure. Proceeding to invade the properties of laymen, and to enrich himself with their spoils, he was removed with disgrace, a little after John's accession to the throne of England in 1199, and obliged to pay the king, as a discharge from his accounts, the sum of a thousand marks, which in quantity of metal was equal to about two thousand, and in efficient value to at least ten thousand pounds of our present money.

To Hamo succeeded Meyler Fitzhenry, the offspring of a natural son of king Henry the first of England, one of the bravest and most accomplished of the original adventurers, and well qualified for the function of chief governor in Ireland; but, unassisted by king John, whose attention was engaged in France, and by the chief English lords in Ireland, who acted as if independent of the English government, he was long unable to execute any considerable enterprise. In this posture of affairs a new lordship was formed and new coalitions. William de Burgo, to whom was committed the custody of Limerick town, together with certain lands in Connaught, formerly granted by stipulation to the English monarchy, collecting a body of troops, possessed himself of the city, and entering into a league with Carragh O'Connor, a relative of Cathal, expelled

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the latter prince, and placed Carragh on the throne of Connaught in his room. The expulsion of Cathal, whose boisterous valour had so much raised the spirits of his compatriots, caused a ferment in Ulster, where Hugh O'Nial of Tir-owen, took arms with other chieftains in his favour, and prevailed on the English barons, De Courcey and De Lacy, to enter into his alliance. Thus were seen English banded with Irish against forces composed in like manner of men from the two nations. Victory declared in favour of Carragh and De Burgo, in an obstinate battle with great slaughter of their opponents. O'Nial was deposed by his discontented subjects: his successor fell in battle by the chieftain of Tirconnel, the present county of Donegal; and bloody contests for dominion ensued among the surviving claimants of the family.

Cathal, now hopeless of reinstatement by force, had recourse to artifice, and by magnificent promises gained the favour of De Burgo. Carragh died bravely fighting; and Cathal, restored to his principality, repaid with perfidy the injustice of the baron, who, in attempting to punish his breach of engagement, was repulsed with disgrace. In a second invasion of Connaught he was recalled to the defence of Limerick, to the attack of which Fitzhenry was on his march. This governor, having at length found means to collect an army for the enforcement of his master's authority, resolved to begin his operations with De Burgo, who had so lately assumed the stile of independence. In this expedition, the first in which an English chief governor was seen marching at

at the head of native Irish against his own countrymen, Fitzhenry was assisted by the troops of Connaught and Thomond. De Burgo, capitulating, was admitted to renew his allegiance, and both Cathal and O'Brien of Thomond entered into treaties of submission, the former stipulating to surrender two-thirds of his territory to king John, and to pay a tribute of a hundred marks annually for the rest.

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About this time was put into execution a plan of attack on John de Courcey, who in Ulster maintained an independent court, and was so far from acknowledging the authority of king John, that he concealed not his indignation against him as a base usurper, and the murderer of his nephew Arthur, the rightful heir of England. Hugh de Lacy, who had also in Meath affected the state of an independent lord, but through malice to De Courcey had maligned him to the king, accepted a commission, in conjunction with his brother Walter, to reduce this nobleman by force of arms, and send him prisoner to England. De Courcey, who had not without much difficulty, and frequent losses, maintained his possessions against the Irish of Ulster, was convinced of the impossibility of ultimate success against these combined with English forces; and therefore, though victorious in battle, he submitted to perform homage, giving sureties for his appearance in the royal presence, and receiving a safe conduct for his journey. Of this warlike baron, who probably died about this time or shortly after, we have no further information. His title of earl of Ulster, together with his estates in that province, was conferred by the unjust and capricious

Ruin of
DeCourcey.

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capricious bounty of the king on Hugh de Lacy, in prejudice to Milo de Courcey, the lawful heir. For the refutation of a fable invented by Irish romancers, contradicted by dates and authentic records, I refer the reader to Leland's history, as fables are inconsistent with my plan of writing.

Meyler Fitzhenry, in whose vigorous administration the English power had been restored in Munster by the recovery of Cork and Limerick, and much elsewhere extended in Ireland, was, together with Hugh de Lacy, summoned abroad for the support of their sovereign, who had lost his French dominions by the arms of the king of France, and was threatened with danger also in England. Nothing memorable occurred in the absence of this governor, who returned in 1208, and whose office had been held by Walter de Lacy; nor, except a plague, and a massacre near Dublin, are any transactions of this time recorded. The plague is said to have raged in Leinster, and to have considerably thinned the population of Dublin. The massacre was perpetrated by some clans of Wicklow in the year 1209, on the festival of Easter, at a place called Cullen's Wood, where three hundred men, citizens of Dublin, were murdered, who had come to enjoy the recreation of the fields: in commemoration of which an annual assembly has been since held regularly on the spot, and the day denominated *black Monday* from the tragical event.

John's expedition.

The forces of the Wicklow clans, the perpetrators of this atrocity, were soon broken by the people of Dublin, who received a new accession of citizens from

from Bristol; and as the great Irish lords adhered to their agreements with the English government, the expedition of king John into Ireland, in the year 1210, seems not to have had any adequate object; but the keeping of armies in a state of motion was judged expedient in the dangerous situation of this monarch, against whom had been issued the papal thunders of interdict and excommunication; the former depriving his subjects of all exterior exercises of religion; the latter rendering himself, in these dark ages of miserable superstition, an object of abhorrence. To punish William de Braosa, and Hugh and Walter de Lacy, was the ostensible purpose of this armament. The two latter had abused the power derived from his own unrighteous donations. Braosa, lord of Brecknock, to whom had been given large grants of land in Thomond, had fled for refuge into Ireland, to the Lacies, from the vengeance of the king, who was enraged by an unguarded expression of Braosa's wife. When John demanded hostages for their fidelity from the English nobles, this lady had answered that her children should never be entrusted to a man who had been the murderer of his own nephew.

The only exploit of a military nature performed in Ireland by this monarch, who arrived in Dublin in the month of June, and remained three months in the country, was the reduction of the fortresses in Meath and Ulster belonging to the Lacies, who, as well as Braosa, took refuge in France. The Irish princes made submissions without thereby becoming more subject than before. In Thomond Murtagh O'Brien had

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had been deposed by his subjects on account of his concessions to the English government in the administration of Meyler Fitzhenry ; yet, on the nominal submission of his successor, Donald Carbragh O'Brien, who was permitted still to retain the principality, nothing except liberation from prison was obtained in favour of the dethroned prince. More evidently fictitious was the submission of O'Nial, prince of Tir-Owen, who refused to attend the king till two hostages were given him for the security of his safe conduct, and who, on his return to his own territory, disclaimed with impunity all ideas of subjection. Regulations of a civil nature were the chief benefits resulting to the English colony in Ireland from this visit of John. A regular code and charter of English laws was, at the general request of his liegemen in Ireland, ordained in this kingdom, and deposited for their direction in the exchequer of Dublin, under the king's seal, uniting, as it were, his subjects in Ireland under the same system of polity with those in Britain. For the more effectual execution of these laws, beside the establishment of the king's courts of judicature in Dublin, a new and more ample division was made of the king's lands into counties, where sheriffs and others officers were appointed. Twelve counties only are enumerated as formed on this occasion, which marked the English territories as containing parts of Leinster, Munster, and Ulster ; but either then, or some time after, three other counties were added to this number, two in Connaught, and one in South-Munster.

The

The situation of affairs in Ireland was so greatly altered from the commencement of Meyler Fitzhenry's administration to the departure of king John, that a prince less indolent, and more secure in the love of his people, might have at this time reduced all the island under English government. The colonies had become so extended, and so firmly established, as to be little molested by the natives, engaged, as they were, in mutual hostilities. O'Nial of Tir-owen, who continued to breathe defiance, and to wage war against the English, found in his encounters with the garrisons on his frontier no decisive success; while in Connaught Cathal, so formidable some years before, could contrive no resource against the encroachments of the colonists except humble complaints to the king as his sovereign. The great English barons of Ireland also were quite in subjection to the crown. The Lacies with difficulty obtained restoration on payment of great sums as fines to the king; two thousand five hundred marks for Meath, and four thousand for Ulster; sums at least equal in efficient value to sixty-five thousand pounds in the beginning of the nineteenth century. William de Braosa, who was unable to raise enough of money for this tyrannical monarch, remained in exile, while his wife and children perished in prison in the castle of Bristol, from want of sustenance, if the accounts of this transaction are not overcharged by monkish historians.

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Irish Buildings—Round Towers—Castles—Henry the Third—Great Charter—Scope of this chapter—Fate of Earl Marshal—Wars of Connaught—Transactions of Fedlim—Wars of Munster—Geraldines, Mac-Arthys, and De Burgo—Prince Edward lord of Ireland—Accession of Edward the first—War in Thomond—Feuds of the English colonists—Violences of the Clergy—Petitions of the Irish for English Laws—Parliaments—Sir John Wogan—State of Ireland—Piers Gavaston—Defeat of De Burgo—Alliance with the Geraldines.

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IX.
Irish
buildings.

FROM the first arrival of the English in Ireland to the end of king John's reign the face of the country, as well as its political state, had undergone considerable changes, as the settlements of the colonists had penetrated the interior and remote parts of the island, fortified with castles and other works of masonry. Except in the maritime towns founded by the Danes, almost the only structures of stone found in Ireland previously to this period were a kind of towers, which in shape were tall hollow pillars of stone and lime, nearly cylindrical, but narrowing upward in some small degree, pierced with some lateral holes to admit the light, high above the ground, and surmounted with conical roofs of the same materials. Of these simple but durable productions

productions of old Irish masonry fifty-six, from fifty to a hundred and thirty feet high, and from eight to twelve in diameter in the clear, still survived the injuries of time in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The most elegant of all in style of architecture is one in the island of Devenish in Lough Ern, which internally is smooth like the barrel of a gun, eighty-four feet high to the apex of its coniform roof, which occupies fifteen feet of that altitude. The round towers of Ireland, concerning the uses of which odd conjectures have been made by some antiquarians, are known to the peasantry to have been belfries of churches, as the Irish word *claghad* imports, and the English term *steeple*, which is applied to them in those parts of Leinster, where settlements were formed by early English colonists. The walls of these belfries, built apart from the churches, as in Italy, long survived, by their form and materials, the structures of clay and wattles, the churches and monasteries to which they belonged, as also their own wooden staircases by which they were ascended on the inside. The first Irish church of stone and lime was one built at Bangor, in the county of Down, by Malachy, archbishop of Armagh who died in 1148; and the first Irish dwelling-house of the same kind of structure was a palace erected at Tuam by Roderic O'Connor, the last Irish monarch of Ireland. Various ornaments and utensils, some framed of gold, found buried in bogs and elsewhere, may have been partly imported in remote ages by traders in exchange for peltry, the ancient merchandize of the island, and partly the acquirements of plunder carried hither by Danish

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Danish pirates from richer countries. As monumental proofs of ancient greatness and civilization in the Irish they cannot fairly be admitted, since rich ornaments, procured by barter, may be found even in Lapland.

Castles.

Castles, at once the mansions of the nobles and citadels of defence, the building of which had been introduced into England by the Normans, into Ireland by the English, were numerous in the reign of John and for ages after, while feudal government remained, as appears by the many ruins at this day extant. These fortresses varied in form and size according to the importance of the purpose and means of the builder. In general a square fabric termed the *keep*, with walls of prodigious thickness, which from scantiness of light rendered the apartments gloomy, stood in the midst of a large court inclosed with a wall eight or ten feet thick, and above twenty high, which was furnished with towers, parapets, and embrasures, and lined on the inside with buildings for various purposes. This wall was environed with a broad and deep ditch; and the principal gate and drawbridge were defended by an outwork termed the *barbacan*. Castles of primary magnitude were furnished with a second wall and ditch, enclosing at some distance the former, and of the same kind.

Henry
the third.

Ireland, in so large proportion colonized and castellated, remained comparatively tranquil at the death of John, a prince elsewhere most unsuccessful from the general odium excited against him by the allied vices of cowardice and tyranny, expelled by the French from his continental dominions, ignominiously

niouſly reduced to the condition of the pope's vaſſal, compelled by his barons to grant a charter of rights to his ſubjects, and dying in war againſt the ſame aſſiſted by a French army. After the acceſſion of Henry the third, who ſucceeded at the death of his father in 1216, the charter of John, called *Magna Charta*, was renewed, and in February of the following year extended to Ireland, with ſome alterations required for local circumſtances, and with ſtill more of the ariſtocratic ſpirit ſo blamed in the original. By this inſtrument, ſtill extant in the Red Book of the Exchequer in Dublin, obtained by the petition of the Iriſh barons, the union of the Engliſh coloniſts in Ireland with their fellow-ſubjects in Britain under the ſame king, laws, and rights, was clearly aſcertained and eſtabliſhed.

1216.

William earl Marſhal, earl of Pembroke, protector of England in the king's minority, a king who had ſucceeded to the crown at the age of nine years, was owner of extenſive property in Ireland, where the loyalty of the nobles was encouraged by the hopes of his favour, and their turbulence awed by his vigilance and abilities. On the death of this great and honeſt baron in 1219, diſorders recommenced, from which for ages after we ſcarcely find even temporary ceſſations. From this time, through the reigns of Henry the third, and his ſon and ſucceſſor, Edward the firſt, to the Scottiſh invaſion in the time of Edward the ſecond, a period of ninety-fix years, the annals of Ireland are a confuſed maſs of deſultory wars and other petty tranſactions of Iriſh chieftains and Engliſh barons, the latter degenerated
almost

Scope of
this chapter.

1219.

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almost to the condition of the former, acting as independent princes, and frequently engaged in hostilities among themselves as well as against the native lords. A state so unprosperous of Irish affairs was permitted in the reigns of Henry and his immediate successor; the former weak and worthless, attached to foreign favourites, despised by his subjects, and controlled by his nobles; the latter politic, warlike, and ambitious, but engaged in concerns remote from Ireland, some of prime advantage to the realm of England, some of a nature unconnected with its welfare. A detail of occurrences in chronological order, frivolous and at this day interesting to none, would hardly merit my reader's thanks. In the selection and clear arrangement of matters deserving notice, principally consists the art of the historian.

Earl Marshal.
shal.

William earl Marshal, son of the protector, was called into Ireland soon after his father's decease, to the defence of his property, some parts of which Hugh de Lacy claimed as his right, and in conjunction with O'Nial the prince of Tir-owen, attempted to seize by force of arms. An indecisive warfare of alternate success and devastation ended in lassitude or a truce; but the execution of a plot, in some years after, on the successor of the earl, for the plunder of his possessions, marked a woeful degeneracy in the colonial barons, an adoption of barbarism from the natives. The successor of William, who died in 1231, was his brother Richard, a man so dreaded by the king for his lofty spirit, that measures were taken to exclude him from the power which must attend his ample patrimony, and under pretence

pretence of a treasonable correspondence with France he was ordered into exile. Descended from Strongbow and the princess Eva, he found in Ireland, whither he instantly repaired, numerous partizans; and returning to England with a body of armed men, seized the castle of Pembroke, which so greatly alarmed the monarch's timidity, that investiture of the earl's estates was no longer withholden. But this nobleman afterwards, entering into a confederacy for the banishment of the king's foreign favourites, was treacherously murdered by the contrivance of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, the prime favourite and minister.

Letters under his Majesty's great seal, signed also 1234.
by Peter and eleven of his minions, were sent into Ireland by this violent and base minister, directed to Maurice Fitzgerald the chief governor, Hugh and Walter de Lacy, Geoffry de Maurisco, Richard de Burgo, and some other lords, granting them in perpetuity all the Irish estates of earl Richard, on condition of their seizing his person, and sending his body, dead or alive, to the king. Allured by the offer of so great a prize, these barons formed a scheme for the unsuspecting earl's destruction. He was called for the defence of his property into Ireland, where Maurisco, feigning devotion to his cause, assured him that by proper exertions he might render himself master of all the country. When in pursuit of this delusive object he seized the city of Limerick and several castles, the conspiring barons proposed a conference to adjust the terms of a truce and treaty, professing a design of investing him with

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with the paramount power in the island, unless the king should send immediate assistance. Meeting these lords by agreement in the plains of Kildare, and, by the advice of Maurisco, refusing a truce, he was told that the sword must instantly where he stood decide the business. In the moment of onset between the trains of the two opposite parties, Maurisco deserted with eighty followers, leaving the earl with only fifteen attendants to sustain the shock of a hundred and forty. Preferring death to flight, earl Richard, after a desperate and bloody defence, was thrown from his horse, and received a stab in the back, which in a few days proved mortal.

The alarming discontents excited both in England and Ireland by this vile action, caused the disgrace of Peter des Roches and his associates. Gilbert, a brother of the murdered baron, was invested with his estates as his immediate heir, together with the dignity of earl Marshal. Apprehensions of the growing power of this young nobleman, who after some interval of displeasure was admitted into Henry's favour, and who was married to a daughter of Alexander, king of Scotland, gave a check to the depredations committed on his lands by the Irish barons, who, with a violence of rapacity corresponding to the previous treachery of their conduct, had emulously proceeded to divide among them the spoil of his patrimony. Maurice Fitzgerald, who seems not to have been worthy of a name so ennobled by the great founder of his family in Ireland, exculpated himself by an oath in the presence of the king and lords of England from all participation

participation in the murder of earl Richard ; and, according to the superstitious notions of the age, proposed to establish a convent of monks, whose devotion should be constantly exercised for repose to the soul of that unfortunate nobleman.

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Previously to the date of these transactions, a contest had arisen in the west of Ireland, which was frequently renewed and long undecided. To Richard de Burgo, successor of William, the baron so turbulent in the reign of John, the whole kingdom of Connaught had been granted by Henry in reversion on the demise of the reigning prince Cathal. Whether such a grant was consistent or not with the stipulations made with this prince, the Irish of Connaught, regardless of it, proceeded, on his decease in 1223, to an election, according to their custom, and, by the influence of O'Nial, invested with the regal dignity a brother of Cathal named Turlaugh. Geoffry de Maurisco, then chief governor, without professing directly to support De Burgo's claim, expelled the newly-elected prince, and substituted Aedh a son of Cathal. Aedh disappointed the chief governor's hopes, resisted the demands on his territory by force of arms, took a son of Maurisco prisoner in an expedition on which he had been rashly sent, but was killed at length in the tumult of a quarrel which arose between the attendants of the two parties in a conference held by him with the governor. The deposed Turlaugh, reassuming the monarchy, was again deposed, and another son of Cathal, named Fedlim, vested with the title by

Affairs of
Connaught.

1223.

1228.

VOL. I.

L

De Burgo,

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Fedlim.

De Burgo, who had succeeded as chief governor, with the title of lord justice.

1233.

Fedlim, who proved a prince of considerable talents, long maintained his petty kingdom by arms and subtilty. Defeated and taken prisoner by De Burgo, whose claims, notwithstanding his past service, were opposed by him, he made his escape, collected an army, slew Turlaugh, now supported by this baron, in battle, and repossessed himself of the principality. To shield himself, if possible, under the royal protection, he addressed a petition to Henry, representing his father's and his own loyalty to the English government, the valuable cessions of lands which had been made, and the dangerous disloyalty of De Burgo; and finally entreating permission to throw himself at his Majesty's feet that he might more particularly explain the state of his affairs. For this petition the juncture was favourable; De Burgo, the interest of whose family had declined at court, being removed from the post of lord justice, and Maurice Fitzgerald appointed in his place. A letter directed by the king to this new deputy recommended the deferring of the prince's journey to court until the affairs of Connaught should have been peaceably settled, and the sending of some trusty agents along with him for the authentic information of his Majesty. After a temporary quiet in consequence of this letter, by which the prince of Connaught was acknowledged as the king's feudatory, De Burgo, assisted by Fitzgerald, whom he had gained to his party, invaded and usurped great part of his lands. Aroused by this inroad

inroad to a renewal of exertion, Fedlim repaired to the English court, at the time when Fitzgerald was declaring his innocence of earl Marshal's murder; and, artfully avoiding to involve the chief governor, confined his complaint to the injustice of De Burgo. Henry, conceiving the representation true, ordered Fitzgerald to take the most effectual and speedy measures for the full reinstatement of the Irish prince.

Not ungrateful for this favour, of above twenty 1245. Irish princes, summoned to attend the standard of Henry in Wales, Fedlim alone went to his assistance; and, having returned to Ireland, he joined his troops with those of the lord justice to reduce the chiefs of Tirconnel, who had risen in arms in his absence. Yet the prince of Connaught found in the end, that without military force he could not maintain his rights. Walter de Burgo, successor of Richard, augmented in power by the earldom of Ulster, which he obtained by his marriage with the daughter and heiress of Hugh de Lacy, renewed his claim on Connaught, and with an army expelled Fedlim; but the prince returning, and collecting to his standard his old adherents, repossessed his territory, and displayed such a strength as to frustrate the attempts of De Burgo. Nor was this baron more successful against Aedh O'Connor the successor of Fedlim, being defeated by him in a decisive battle, and dying shortly after. But in the following reign we find the prince of Connaught murdered by a claimant of his dignity, and the country in a state of the wildest commotion.

CHAP.
IX.Wars in
Munster.

The distractions of Ireland, almost incessant thro' the period of this chapter, arose to a monstrous height in the latter part of Henry's reign, whose power was narrowly circumscribed, and for a time totally suspended, by the English barons. The country at this time, in the words of doctor Leland, "felt all the melancholy effects of a feeble government, laws suspended and controled, factions engendered by pride and oppression, the anarchy of the old natives, the injustice of the new settlers, local feuds, and barbarous massacres." In Munster were the fiercest hostilities maintained. Maurice Fitzgerald in 1245, dismissed from his office of lord-deputy, retired into Desmond, where disdaining the restraints of English government, he made large encroachments on the territories of the Irish. Some time after the death of this baron, which happened in the following year, the sept of Mac-Arthy took arms with fury, and, after some less considerable actions, were decisively victorious over the Geraldines, the family of Fitzgerald, in a desperate battle, and pursued their advantage with implacable rage. On the side of the vanquished fell Thomas Fitzgerald and his son, eighteen barons, fifteen knights, and many of inferior note.

The Mac-Arthys, who were so far on this occasion from professing opposition to the English government, that they honourably conducted through their territory a new chief governor who had landed among them, turned their arms, after the humiliation of the Geraldines, to the attack of some Irish clans. Their progress in this warfare clashed with the

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the claims of Walter De Burgo, already mentioned, who encountering them with a formidable force, defeated them, slew their leader, and imposed on them a debasing treaty of submission. On the overthrow of their Irish enemies, the Geraldines revived their pretensions, and thus became the rivals of De Burgo, with whom they maintained a sanguinary contest, until their hostilities were with difficulty stopped by the interference of government. At first that interference availed so little, that Richard de Capella, the chief governor, suspected of partiality to their adversaries, was taken prisoner at a conference by the Geraldines, and committed, with some other lords, to custody in a castle. At the requisition of an assembly of nobles, convened at Kilkenny, these prisoners were liberated: king Henry commanded by letters the rival barons to preserve the public peace: and Sir David Barry, who was appointed lord justice in 1267, exerted his power to restrain the Geraldine faction within just limits.

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1264.

Such intestine wars might have been happily prevented, and Ireland reduced into a peaceable state of subjection, if a project formally commenced had been really executed, a project of rendering prince Edward, who became afterwards king of England, the resident lord and actual governor of this island. In the year 1253, on his marriage with the infanta of Spain, a grant was made to this gallant prince of the lordship of Ireland, in the same manner as one had formerly been made by Henry the second to prince John: but neither his intended residence, or effective superintendence, took place, as he was long engaged

Accession
of Edward
the first.

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engaged in the contests of his father with the English barons, and afterwards, according to the erroneous ideas of the times, in a crusade to the Holy Land.

1272. Nor, on the succession of this great prince to his father, in 1272, under the title of Edward the first, was the condition of this country bettered. Maurice Fitzmaurice, the chief governor, the same who had formerly imprisoned the king's viceroy Capella, was himself taken prisoner in Ophally, in his attempt to repel the wasting incursions of some septs of Irish, who had destroyed the castle of Roscommon and other fortresses; and in the following year his successor, Walter Glenvill, was defeated with great loss. Amid various distractions, a war was kindled in Thomond by a grant of lands made by Edward to Thomas de Clare, son to the earl of Gloucester, a martial youth, who had married Juliana, the daughter of Fitzmaurice.

War in
Thomond.
1274.

This nobleman, leading into Thomond a body of troops, and accompanied by Fitzmaurice, who had been released from prison, was opposed by the O'Briens, who were defeated with great slaughter and the loss of their chief. Two sons of this chief, endowed with uncommon vigour of body and mind, rallied their people, and renewed the war so successfully, that the Geraldines were totally discomfited, and obliged, after the slaughter of their bravest knights, to take refuge in a mountain called Slyeeve Banny, where, blockaded and oppressed with famine, they submitted to severe terms of capitulation, relinquishing to the O'Briens the dominion of Thomond, giving hostages for the *erik* of the chieftain slain,

slain, and formally surrendering the castle of Roscommon, lately rebuilt with strong fortifications. Yet in the discord of the natives the Geraldine lords recovered their power; and Thomas de Clare, taking under his protection one of the competitors for chief dignity in Thomond, constituted him prince of the O'Brien clan. His rival had collected an army to dispute his title, when Daniel Rোধ, who, at the head of the Mac-Arthys had made some successful attacks on the English in Desmond, came suddenly among the O'Briens, and pathetically, with success, entreated them to compose those quarrels which must render them a prey to their common enemy, and to wait with patience till the English, weakened by discord, should afford an opportunity to the Irish to drive them from the country.

1282.

Forcibly glaring must have been the dissensions which prompted this council, yet too confused and minute to admit a detail. In Connaught a war between two English feudatories of De Burgo, named Barret and Cusack, terminated with destruction to the former. In Meath, lord Theobald de Verdon, possessed of great property by his wife, a daughter of Walter de Lacy, was defeated by Gerald Fitzmaurice, a son of Ophally, who in his turn was defeated and made prisoner. In Meath also lord Geoffry Genneville was with his dependents driven from his lands. William de Vesey, a spirited and active chief governor in 1290, attempting to check baronial violence, was opposed by John Fitzthomas Fitzgerald of Ophally, with whom the dispute ended in a mutual accusation at the court of Edward, and a resig-

English
feuds.

1290.

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IX.

a resignation to the king by De Vesey of the county of Kildare and other lands, which he had held by his marriage with one of the co-heiresses of earl Marshal's family, and in which his claim was contested by the other daughters. Fitzgerald, returning home, beside other hostilities, defeated and imprisoned De Burgo, earl of Ulster, but appearing again on a summons before the king, submitted to the royal mercy, and gave security for his future good conduct. Though sometimes partly curbed by the interference of government, particularly in Sir John Wogan's administration in 1295, and Piers Gavaston's in 1308, the feuds of English lords and Irish clans continued still to subsist, to the prevention of improvement and unspeakable detriment of the kingdom.

Violences
of the clergy.

Nor were grievances and violent conduct confined to the laity. The clergy were intolerably fleeced by the exactions of Henry the third authorized by the Pope, and by those of the Pope himself, inasmuch that even the churches were stripped of their ornaments to supply the demands of legates and nuncios. Benefices were conferred, as in England, on Italian ecclesiastics, who disdained to perform the duties of their places, or even to reside in the country whence they drew their revenues. The native clergy of Ireland, both of Irish and English descent, complained that the livings, to which themselves were entitled, were given also to men sent from England for provision, the most worthless or neglected of the English clergy; and they even attempted to revent their admission by an ordinance

ordinance which they enacted, but which was annulled, with strong expressions of disapprobation, by the Pope. The control of his Holiness appears to have been in many cases necessary to restrain the violence of these churchmen. They were oppressive in their exactions, and where their claims were opposed, they spared not the thunder of excommunication to enforce them. Nor were their violences confined to such weapons. The petition of Margaret le Blunde of Cashel to Edward the first, represents that David Macmackerwayt, bishop of Cashel, withheld her inheritance, notwithstanding a decree in her favour from the king's judges at Clonmel; that he had killed her father; had starved her grandfather and her mother to death in prison, because they had sought redress for this murder; had starved to death her six brothers and sisters, whose inheritance he held when he killed her father; had killed many other Englishmen; retained a body of robbers in an abbey in the town of Cashel for the support of his tyranny; fulminated the sentence of excommunication against the members of the king's council, as often as they attempted to take cognizance of the offence; and that by his influence and bribery he frustrated the writs which she obtained for the possession of her property.

From such an instance the lawless condition of Ireland at this period may be more easily conceived than from a general description. Yet, though the English laws were so outrageously infringed by the barons and other petty tyrants, as to afford but a slender protection to the colonists who lived under their authority,

Petitions
for English
laws.

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IX.

authority, the case was still worse with the Irish, who lived under a different system, their ancient laws, and had no legal claim to the privileges of the English constitution. With exception of those, whose situation was remote from the settlements of the English, this disadvantage was so severely felt, especially by those whose lands were bordered or surrounded by the lands of the colonists, that repeated petitions to the throne were sent, earnestly soliciting admission to the protection of English law, or, in other words, a change of condition from tributaries to subjects. A few in the reigns of Henry the third and his successor were admitted to this privilege, by royal patents, on the plea of their having been faithful and serviceable to their majesties. To Edward the first, in 1278, was offered, through his chief governor Ufford, the sum of eight thousand marks, equal in actual value to eighty thousand pounds at least of our present money, for the extension of this right to all the Irish within the pale.

The measure proposed by this petition, conducive to the peace and improvement of the country, must have been quite agreeable to so wise a prince as Edward. He commanded the chief governor to negotiate the business, with consent of the better part of the commons, prelates, and nobles of the English colony; and two years afterwards, on repeated applications from the Irish, he gave peremptory orders, with expressions of displeasure at their tardiness in affairs of such moment, for the assembling of the lords

lords and commons to deliberate on the subject. Whether a parliamentary assembly was held or not for this purpose we have no authentic information, but evidence enough that the good intentions of the king were frustrated, and the petitioners disappointed, by the intrigues of men, who, like mankind unfortunately in general, preferred apparent and temporary to real and lasting advantages. The enjoyment of power seduces the possessor. The properties and lives of the Irish, unprotected by the laws of England, the acceptance of which they had at first ignorantly declined, were exposed to the violences of the colonial barons and their dependants, who chose unwisely to retain a delusive privilege rather than contribute to such a settlement as would redound to their own solid benefit and security.

Assemblies of prelates, nobles, and commons, were at several times convened, as colonial parliaments, or bodies representative of the English in Ireland; but the first, which had the appearance of a regular parliament, was one summoned in the year 1295, by Sir John Wogan, a most able chief governor, who laboured to heal the disorders of the country, disorders incurable by a slender force. Beside the regular summoning of the lords both spiritual and temporal, the writs to the sheriffs directed them to return two knights for each county and each liberty, or privileged district included in a county. Though by the absence of many who declined attendance, this parliament was thin, yet the object of their meeting, the discussion of the public grievances, appears to have been attentively managed,

Parlia-
ments.

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IX.State of
Ireland.

naged, and from the remedies decreed we learn the abuses then existing.

By the acts of this assembly we find, that the division of the counties was disproportionate, and inconvenient for the execution of the English law: that the lords Marchers, charged with the defence of the English borders, resided in the securer parts of the country to the neglect of their duty: that a number of lords, possessed of Irish estates, resided entirely in England, without contributing any thing to the general defence of the colony, or giving any attention to the security of their tenants, who were thus exposed defenceless to the incursions of the enemy: that colonists, instead of always uniting against the common foe, frequently declined to give any assistance to their neighbours attacked by the Irish: that the barons kept bands of idle retainers, and oppressed the subjects by arbitrary exactions: that frequently the Irish, when they intended to attack one settlement of the English, made a truce with the colonists of the neighbouring districts, who were thus prevented from assisting their fellow-subjects: that hostile incursions were sometimes made on the Irish after insidious truces, which produced bloody reprisals on innocent persons: that the country was in bad condition with respect to roads and bridges; and that the English colonists had already begun to conform to the licentious manners of the natives, disguising themselves under the Irish garb and form of the hair, that they might be free from the restraints of English law, while at the same time they thus exposed themselves to the danger of being killed

killed with impunity, as Irish excluded from the protection of the English law.

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To check, not to repress, the disorders of the kingdom, was all that could be expected from the efforts of this parliament and the chief governor. Turbulence remounted to its former height in the absence of the two great barons, Fitzjohn, head of the Geraldines, and de Burgo earl of Ulster, who went to assist king Edward the first in his war in Scotland. Piers Gavaston, the favourite of Edward the second, appointed chief governor in 1308, a man of activity and spirit, asserted the authority of government by military operations, and reduced the country for a time to a state of comparative quiet; but a storm seemed to be gathering on the side of Ulster; where Richard de Burgo, affecting in opposition to the king's vicegerent the state of an independent prince, held a court in the town of Trim, and conferred the honour of knighthood in regal style. The recall of Gavaston prevented the hostilities apprehended, and Sir John Wogan, re-appointed to the government, endeavoured by the summoning of parliaments to preserve the public peace. But the haughty spirits of the barons, controllable only by superior force, continued still to agitate the nation. De Burgo, entering Thomond with an army for the enforcement of some claims, was encountered by the Geraldines conducted by Richard de Clare, and on the total rout of his forces remained a prisoner with the enemy. Conditions were imposed by the victorious party, and an accommodation ensued which ended in a matrimonial alliance.

1311.

Two

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Two principals of the Geraldines, Maurice and Thomas Fitzjohn, afterwards the heads of the illustrious houses of Desmond and Kildare, were married to two daughters of De Burgo ; “ and the union of these noble families,” says Leland, “ seemed to promise lasting tranquility to Ireland, at the moment when new enemies and new disorders were on the point of reducing this unhappy country to an extremity of distress beyond all its former sufferings.”

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C H A P. X.

Retrospect of the history of Scotland—Scottish intercourse—Pictish kingdom in Ireland—Bruce's invasion—Fedlim's defection—Roderic's usurpation—Fedlim's death—Progress of Bruce—Measures for defence—Retreat of Bruce—Hideous famine—Mortimer chief governor—Battle of Dundalk—Death of Edward Bruce—Decline of the English in Ireland—Manners—Nefarious prosecutions for sorcery and heresy—Accession of Edward the third—A baronial feud—War of O'Brien—Horrid cruelty—Vigour of Sir Anthony Lucy—Dishonourable peace—Palatinates—Assassination of de Burgo.—Further decline.

SCOTLAND, the northern part of the great island of Britain, called Caledonia by the Romans, probably from a Celtic term signifying woods, was found inhabited in the first century of the Christian era by a people of Gothic race, better known afterwards by the name of Picts or Piets, the ancestors of the modern Lowland Scots ; but its more ancient inhabitants appear, from the investigations of our great antiquarian, John Pinkerton, to have been Cumraig Celts, who had been partly expelled by the Picts, partly driven into the countries of Gallo-way and Clydsdale. Invaded by the Romans, about the seventy-ninth year of the Christian era, under Julius Agricola, who advanced as far as the Grampian mountains, and afterwards visited by other generals,

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History of
Scotland.

CHAP. X. generals, Scotland was abandoned by those conquerors, who thus limited their empire on that side to the country of South Britain.

Before the dereliction of South Britain by the Romans in the beginning of the fifth century, the northern barbarians of the island, who made predatory wars on the Roman province, were distinguished into two nations, the Picts and Scots. The latter were Irish, who passed into Scotland for the purpose of joining in expeditions for plunder, and settled a colony in the country of Argyle and the neighbouring parts, whence are descended the modern Highlanders. In the Saxon invasions of Britain a colony of Angles took possession of the eastern parts of Scotland bordering Northumberland. The Anglic monarchy, called the kingdom of Northumberland, far the greatest of the Heptarchy, extended to the Frith of Forth, and held in subjection the people of Strathclyde in the south west, a people of Cumraig ancestry, congenerous with the Welch. About the year 685, the Picts recovered the country as far as the Tweed, and thus reduced the Northumbrian kingdom into far narrower limits. By some unknown events, about the year 843, Kenneth, king of the Picts, united Scotland into one kingdom, but the country assumed not this name before the beginning of the eleventh century. The transferring of the name of Scotia to North Britain, a name until then appropriated to Ireland, is supposed to have arisen from the vanity or affectation of the Irish clergy who were established in North Britain,

and

and were the sole instructors of the people in letters and the doctrines of christianity.

The government of Scotland, whenever, or by whatever means, reduced into one monarchy, was in fact a feudal aristocracy, the power of the monarch being little more than nominal. The Scots, generally in a state of amity, though sometimes at war with their English neighbours, were actuated with no extraordinary degree of antipathy toward this nation till the time of Edward the first of England. This monarch on the deaths of Alexander the third of Scotland, and of his grand-daughter and heiress, Margaret, called the maid of Norway, in 1294, taking advantage of a disputed succession, endeavoured to unite North Britain, under his government, into one kingdom with England. Making a temporary conquest of the country in 1296, and twice afterward subduing the Scots who had revolted, he would, if he had lived a few years longer, most probably have succeeded in a design ultimately of great advantage to both kingdoms. But from the bloody wars of Edward, whose conquest was left incomplete by his death at Carlisle in 1307, originated an inveterate national enmity, the cause of many subsequent calamities. In the reign of his despicably weak son and successor, Edward the second, the Scots established the independence of their kingdom, under Robert Bruce, who defeated the English forces in the decisive battle of Bannockburn in 1314.

From the proximity of the Scottish to the Irish coasts, a mutual intercourse of their inhabitants had

Scottish
intercourse.

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naturally subsisted from remote antiquity. We find a little kingdom of Picts, called *Cruthens*, established in the north of Ireland, probably commencing early in the third century and remaining till the Danish conquest in the ninth. Hostilities as well as mutual colonization had place. Among these was a wasting invasion of Ulster, in the year 1273, by some bands of Scots, which was retaliated by an invasion of the Highlands and Hebrides, by Richard de Burgo and Sir Eustace le Poer. But in the reign of Edward, the hatred of the Irish to the government of England, which afforded them not the protection of its constitution, and left them to be treated as outlaws by the colonists, was pleased by the hostilities of the Scots against the English, and highly gratified by their success. Ambassadors were sent from Irish chieftains, particularly those of Ulster, inviting an invasion of the Scots for the expulsion of the English, and offering to Robert Bruce the monarchy of Ireland.

Bruce's
invasion.

Edward Bruce, brother of king Robert, and the companion of his military toils, demanded, on the expulsion of the English from North Britain, an equal participation of the Scottish monarchy. His ambition was soothed by his being declared successor to his brother, and was diverted into another channel by an advice to accept the offer of the Irish crown, with a Scottish army to enforce his claim. 1315. After a premature and unsuccessful attempt, this prince in the year thirteen hundred and fifteen, on the twenty-fifth of May, landed with a body of six thousand

thousand men, from three hundred small vessels, on the north-eastern coasts of Ireland. These forces, joined by those of the Irish chiefs of Ulster, fell with the fury of a devouring tempest on the English settlements in that quarter, wasting all before them with slaughter and fire. Pasturage was doubtless the chief product of the country, and cattle the chief wealth of the inhabitants, in such abundance and variety, that the unfortunate wife of William de Braosa, in a vain attempt to mollify the wrath of king John, had been enabled to present to his queen, from her Irish demesnes, four hundred cows, all of which were of a red colour; yet the agriculture of Ireland was, at the time of this invasion, comparatively with times past, and some ages after, in a flourishing state. Several tracts were not only cultivated, but adorned also with edifices, and plantations of fruit trees.

While the fair improvements of Ulster were obliterated by these ferocious bands, and Atherdee, Dundalk, and other towns laid in ashes, Richard de Burgo, and the lord-deputy, Edmond Butler, were collecting their forces. The former, marching from Roscommon, and joined at Athlone by Fedlim prince of Connaught with a body of Irish, proceeded into Ulster, where the lord-deputy brought him a reinforcement of troops from Leinster. This reinforcement was declined by the vain pride of De Burgo, long accustomed to effect pre-eminence over the chief governor. Lord Edmond returned willingly to protect the capital by the advice of the earl of Ulster, who declared that his own army was

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more than sufficient for the enemy's overthrow. The enemy indeed, when the earl's troops began to skirmish, was obliged to retire northward, for want of provisions, from a country as injudiciously as cruelly laid waste ; but the same want of cordiality and concert among the English chiefs, which had prevented an effectual opposition to the Scots at their first arrival, now prevented their defeat and expulsion. The earl, relying solely on his own force, was unable to join any decisive advantage, and is said to have even received a severe check, or even a defeat, near Colerain.

Defection
of Fedlim.

In the mean time Bruce entered secretly into a treaty with Fedlim prince of Connaught, engaging his restoration to the provincial dignity of his ancestors, on condition of his abandoning the English, and acting in conjunction with the Scottish army for their extermination. In this prince's absence, however, his principality was usurped by Roderic his kinsman, who also entered into an alliance with Bruce ; but declined the advice of his confederate to suspend his dispute with Fedlim till the English power in Ireland should have been destroyed. Fedlim, returning to Connaught with consent of De Burgo, found his rival so strong that he could make no attempt against him, and dismissing the remnant of his army, which had been shattered in its march by the Ulster Irish, retired for a time into a place of safety. He was soon followed by the earl with diminished forces, unable to maintain his ground against Bruce and his adherents.

While

While prince Edward, disabled by scarcity from pursuing his advantage, was parading in Ulster as monarch of Ireland, a wasting and indecisive warfare was maintained in Connaught between Roderic on one side, and Fedlim and the earl of Ulster on the other, till the arrival of a reinforcement under Sir John Bermingham, an accomplished leader, put an end to the contest. Roderic, slain in a fierce engagement, left the undisputed possession of the principality to Fedlim, who immediately avowed his treaty with Bruce, until then kept secret, and turned his arms against the English. His sincerity in this alliance was manifested by the activity of his operations in furious and bloody inroads; but his career soon ended. In the most bloody and decisive battle since the first arrival of the English in Ireland, near Athenree, against an army commanded by William de Burgo, brother to the earl of Ulster, and by Richard de Bermingham, the prince of Connaught lost his life, at the age of twenty-two, with some thousands of his followers.

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Before Fedlim's fall, his example of defection had been followed by the O'Briens of Thomond, and other Irish chiefs of the south and of Meath. Prince Edward was crowned at Dundalk, reinforced by the king of Scotland with an army, and joined by many degenerate English, particularly the Lacies. Though dearth and severe weather prevented king Robert from the achievement of any important enterprize, the troops which he left behind, on his return to Scotland, enabled his brother to act offensively with vigour. The long blockaded fortress of Carrick-

Progress
of Bruce.

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Carrickfergus was obliged to surrender ; and Edward, “ quitting his desolated quarters in the remoter districts of Ulster, marched southward,” says Leland, “ with a barbarous army, enflamed to madness by the violent cravings of nature, and prepared to glut their frantic malice, and allay the rage of hunger, by the bloodiest hostilities and most ruthless depredations.” The citizens of Dublin set fire to their suburbs with such precipitation at his approach, that their Cathedral suffered by the extension of the flames. Deterred from the attempt of an assault by the formidable aspect of defence, the Scots and their confederates retired from its walls, and directed their march through Kildare and Ossory, marking their progress with desolation like a swarm of locusts.

Measures
for defence.

Such distrust had been excited by the defection of the Lacies and other degenerate English, that the earl of Ulster, whose sister was wife to Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, had been imprisoned in Dublin ; and many of the barons had entered into an association for the defence of the king’s government with their lives and properties, and given hostages to his commissioner, John de Hotham, for their allegiance. On this occasion John Fitzthomas, baron of O’Phally, was created earl of Kildare, and lord Edmond Butler earl of Carrick. Great exertions were made by the friends of government, particularly the Geraldines of Desmond and Kildare, to stop the enemy’s progress ; and an army was at length assembled at Kilkenny, said to consist of thirty thousand men, in great part irregular and ineffective,

ineffective, when Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, appointed chief governor, landed at Youghall with a train of forty knights and their attendants. Bruce, not choosing to risk a battle with an army inspirited by this reinforcement, retreated by forced marches to Meath, and thence to his former quarters in Ulster. Here his famished soldiers experienced the bitter effects of their own cruel devastations, by which the country was rendered unable to afford them sustenance. Numbers perished with hunger; and the carcases of the dead furnished hideous nourishment for the preservation of the living!

Mortimer, unable to pursue the enemy through a desolated country, dismissed most of his army, and repaired to Dublin, where he took such measures as opportunity allowed for the re-establishment of the English power in Leinster. Having liberated the earl of Ulster, he marched into Meath, and summoned the Lacies to answer for their conduct, who killed his messenger in defiance, and took refuge in the west. Though a defeat with much loss was received in Thomond by the English, their affairs assumed the aspect of revival. Their efforts were seconded by the sovereign pontiff, who thundered his excommunication against the Bruces, their adherents, and the Irish clergy of all ranks, who had preached in favour of the Scottish interest. A plentiful harvest in some districts, which had escaped the devastation of war, enabled the English again to take the field; and an army of fifteen hundred well-appointed men marched northward, under the command of Sir John Bermingham, nominated to
this

Mortimer.
1317.

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this post by the archbishop of Dublin, the lord justice; for Mortimer had returned to England.

Battle of
Dundalk.
1318.

Bruce with a number more than double of the English army, but not recovered fully from the effects of hunger, advanced with eagerness to meet his opponents; and is said to have hastened the decision of the contest from an apprehension that his brother Robert, who was coming to his aid, should participate in the honour of his expected victory. The armies met near Dundalk; and previously to the engagement, the prelate of Armagh went through the ranks of the English, enflaming their valour by his exhortations, distributing his benedictions, and pronouncing his absolution on all who should perish in so good a cause. The shock of the encountering hosts was furious in the extreme, and the combat long maintained on both sides with desperate valour; but the Scots were at length discomfited with dreadful carnage, and Edward Bruce finished on the field of battle his inglorious career, by the arm of a knight named Maupus, who had rushed for that purpose into the enemy's ranks, and fell himself by many wounds on the body of his antagonist. Bermingham, having, in pursuit of his advantage, proceeded northward, and expelled O'Nial of Ulster, whence Robert Bruce had immediately returned home, was, in reward of his important services, vested with the earldom of Louth and manor of Atherdee.

Decline of
the English.

From the rueful devastations of Bruce's warfare, and the unutterable confusion into which affairs were thrown, the English colony into Ireland had fallen into a state of decline, from which it recovered

vered not for nearly two centuries. The diminution of inhabitants by famine and pestilence was a loss more easily repaired than the extinction of all regard for laws and regular government. So deeply imbibed was the habit of disorder, and love of exemption from all restraints of legal rules, that numbers of colonists, renouncing their privileges as English subjects, coalesced with the Irish, adopting their garb, manners, and language. From the licentiousness of war, which fixed such a lamentable fondness of irregular life, arose another cause of English apostacy. The troops of the king, unpaid from a deficient revenue, were licensed to procure subsistence for themselves by what was denominated *Coyne and livery*, that is, arbitrary exactions from the people of the districts through which they marched, or maintenance at free quarter. Freeholders, unable to support the rapacity and insolence of the royal troops, and those of the barons, fled partly into England, and partly to septs of Irish, abandoning their lands to the original natives. Thus the lands of Waterford, Cork, Kerry, and Limerick, deserted by English settlers, were occupied by a mixed rabble of Irish manners, and mostly of Irish blood, the followers of Maurice Fitzthomas of Desmond, who, to evade the claims of the proprietors, renounced all connexion with English law, and assumed the stile of an Irish prince.

So enviable appeared the situation of the chieftain of Desmond, that his example was followed by several other barons; and so great was the general corruption, that even among those who still called themselves

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themselves English, justice was often administered in the Irish manner; judges assuming an authority of compounding for the crimes of even robbery and murder. Against this new evil a petition was presented to the king by the regency of Ireland, requesting that no redemption should be granted for the robbery or murder of an English subject otherwise than in full parliament; and that a parliamentary convention should on this account be held regularly once every year. That the request was fully granted, and an ordinance issued for that purpose, appears in extant records; but ordinances without effectual enforcements are of little avail. Yet, how much perverted soever was the administration, and inefficient the execution of the English laws, a participation of them was eagerly sought by the Irish of Leinster, who felt the effects of an exclusion from the privileges of English subjects. While robbery or murder committed on an Englishman, by a person of either English or Irish denomination, was a capital offence, such crimes committed on an Irishman, by persons of either description, were punishable only by a fine. When applications were made to the throne for the abolition of distinctions degrading and oppressive on one side, and pernicious to all, the affair was referred to the chief governor, and by him to a parliament, where, either by open rejection or private collusion, the question was lost.

Manners. The manners of the people naturally corresponded with their state of civil society. The barbarism then prevalent in England, Germany, and all over Europe,

Europe, was nowhere probably more gross than in Ireland. But how rude soever elsewhere may have been the state of society in the north of Europe, the task of the Irish historian is in a peculiar degree dreary. "The gloomy prospect," in the words of Leland, "is not relieved by any great and striking objects, foreign expeditions, important victories, or extensive conquests. The attention is painfully confined to the worst and most odious part of human conduct, which in times of civility and refinement must be considered, and ought to be represented, with abhorrence." The bad effects of general ignorance, connected with some pretensions to literature, are most forcibly and dismally exemplified in the intolerance of superstition, and the prosecutions for sorcery, an imaginary crime. In Ireland, where the people's attention was so constantly engaged by local feuds and petty brawls, little commonly was known of this kind of horrors: but in the period now before us a pestiferous churchman added for a time these worst of evils to the civil broils of this country, soon after the commencement of Edward the third's reign.

A lady named Alice Ketler, was, with her son and some dependants, prosecuted for witchcraft in the spiritual court of Richard Ledred, bishop of Ossory. To disprove a crime which has no existence, from the trial for which all reasoning is excluded, and in whose accusation false witnesses only can be employed, must be difficult in the extreme in a state of society which can admit such accusations; yet the lady was acquitted; but one of her dependants was condemned.

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Nefarious
prosecuti-
ons.

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demned and executed ; her son confined in prison ; and herself afterwards on a charge of heresy committed to the flames. Arnold de la Poer, a magistrate of Kilkenny, who endeavoured to protect these unhappy persons, was himself charged with heresy by the malignant prelate ; and when the chief justice, the prior of Kilmainham, interposed in favour of this worthy man, the accusation was extended also to him ; so that for self preservation the chief justice was obliged to abandon De la Poer, who expired in prison. Adam Duff, a respectable Irishman of Leinster, was burned on the same charge, a mode of proceeding quite calculated for the gratification of private malice in the wicked by the destruction of the best. At length to put a stop to this atrocious practice, Ledred himself was formally accused of heresy by his metropolitan, forced to quit his country with precipitation, and seek refuge by an appeal to the apostolic see.

Edward
the third.
1327.

In the reign of Edward the third, who succeeded his unfortunate father Edward the second in the year 1327, we find a continuation of weakness in the English government in this country, frequent repetitions of baronial feuds, and desultory wars of Irish clans, now and then checked by the extraordinary exertions of a chief governor. A furious war, in the beginning of this reign, between Maurice of Desmond and his allies on one side, and De la Poer and De Burgo on the other, was kindled by so slight a cause as a contemptuous expression of De la Poer, who had called Maurice a *rhymier*. When by the authoritative mediation of Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham,

Kilmainham, the chief governor, a reconciliation between the contending parties was effected, and De la Poer, who had been driven from Ireland by the storm of hostility, was restored, the regency of Ireland found itself involved in war with a confederacy of Irish clans, violently irritated by a fresh refusal of an application, which they had made, for their admission under the protection of English law.

This war, which was conducted by O'Brien of Thomond, ended with some dishonour to the English government, and might have been attended with still worse consequences, if the cruelty of the insurgents had not excited a desperate spirit of defence. About eighty persons of English ancestry, surprized in a church at the time of divine service, in utter despair of mercy to themselves attempted only to supplicate for the priest's life, who in vain presented the consecrated wafer. The host was furiously snatched from his hand, himself transpierced with weapons, and the miserable congregation consumed in the church, which was set on fire over them.

The enemy received many severe checks, defeated by the citizens of Wexford, harrassed by the exertions of James Butler, lately created earl of Ormond, and attacked by the irregular troops of Maurice the chieftain of Desmond. But the forces of Maurice, with whom Darcy, the chief governor, treated as an independent prince, were more hurtful to the English by their maintenance on free quarter than serviceable in the field: and as the foe continued still formidable, and appeared on certain information to be privately abetted by some lords of English race,

a new

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1333.

a new chief governor, Sir Anthony Lucy, took measures the most vigorous, the execution of which was facilitated by the expectation of a visit of the king in person with an army. Issuing summonses for a parliament to be held at Dublin, and afterwards at Kilkenny, without being obeyed in the attendance of the lords, he seized the persons of Maurice who had been created earl of Desmond, Mandeville, Walter de Burgo and his brother, and William and Walter Bermingham. William Bermingham, found guilty, was executed, and Desmond long imprisoned: but as the declaration of an intended visit to Ireland by the king, whose warlike preparations were intended really against Scotland, was only a feint, the war with the Irish clans was no otherwise terminated than, by precarious treaties with their chiefs, for the negotiation of which the prior of Kilmainham was charged with a commission.

Palatinate.
dates.

The encreasing weakness of English government, too clearly displayed in such treaties, appeared also in the erection of Palatinates. Maurice Fitzthomas of Desmond, created earl in 1329, had at the same time received confirmation of what were called his *royal liberties* in the county of Kerry, which was thereby converted into a palatinate; and the same privileges were then also given to the earl of Ormond in Tipperary. In the palatinates, now augmented in number to nine, the king's writs had no authority, except in lands called the *Cross*, belonging to the church, included within these privileged counties, where royal sheriffs were appointed. The lords of such counties were petty monarchs, who assumed the power

power of creating knights and barons; of administering justice in the utmost latitude; of erecting courts in the same form as those of the king; and of appointing their own judges, sheriffs, seneschals, and escheators. By these means above two thirds of the English territories in this island were exempt from the royal jurisdiction, and the influence of the great barons, who affected independence, was augmented to a dangerous degree.

As the royal power and influence in the English colony was gradually retiring into narrower limits, Assassination of De Burgo so were also the name and interest of Englishmen in Ireland. The murder of William De Burgo, earl of Ulster, at Carrickfergus in 1333, by his own attendants, who were afterwards punished for the crime, was in the weakness of English government attended with important consequences. An infant daughter, with whom her mother fled into England, was heiress of his vast estates, which by the English law ought to have been taken into possession by the king as guardian in such cases. But the sept of O'Nial, rising with all their force, and passing the river Bann, seized great part of the English settlements in Antrim; and parcelling these among themselves, under the names of the upper and lower Clan Hugh-boy, from their leader Hugh-boy O'Nial, almost extirpated, in the course of some years, the English colony in that quarter: While in Connaught the two most powerful among the younger branches of the De Burgo family divided the extensive demesnes between them; and to elude the claim of the young heirs, they renounced, with their numerous

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ous followers, the English denomination, laws, and manners, and, adopting those of the old natives, became Irish princes under the names of *Macwilliam oughter* and *Macwilliam cighter*, or the *farther* and *nether Macwilliam*. For so lamentable a weakness and decline of English interest in Ireland in the reign of one of the most active and warlike monarchs recorded in history, we can only account from the engagement of the king's attention in the affairs of France, which offered a field for his ambition splendid and delusive, while the substantial interests of his crown in Scotland and Ireland were unfortunately overlooked.

C H A P.

C H A P. XI.

Summary of the history of France—Violent measures of Edward the third in Ireland—Faction of English by birth and English by blood—Ufford's administration—Turbulence of a prelate—Rokeby's regulations—Prince Lionel chief governor—Absurd conduct—Statute of Kilkenny—Transactions posterior to it—Irish chiefs pensioned to protect the colony—Revenue of Ireland—Foul reputation—Defeat of a French and Spanish fleet at Kinsale—Accession of Richard the second—Disgrace of Philip De Courtney—Abortive schemes of conquest—Robert de Vere Marquis of Dublin—Feigned submission of O'Nial to Sir John Stanley—Abortive appointment of the Duke of Gloucester.

THE most antient inhabitants of France, of whom we have accounts, were Gaels, named by the Romans Galli, or, as we say, Gauls, a Celtic people, congenerous with the aboriginal Irish. The earliest colony, which we find planted among them, was that of Massilia, now called Marseilles, founded by the Phocéans, a Grecian people of Ionia, probably between five and six centuries before the christian era. Harassed by some neighbouring tribes, the citizens of Massilia requested aid from the Romans, an army of whom, under Sextus Calvinus, planted a Roman colony, the first of that nation ever brought into France, at *quæ Sextiæ*, now called Aix in Provence,

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of France.

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a hundred and twenty-one years before the birth of our Saviour. In two years after this, the countries now called Savoy and Dauphiné were reduced into a Roman province, or Provincia, whence is derived the modern appellation of Provence. The celebrated Julius Cæsar, having, fifty-seven years before the christian era, been appointed to the command of this province, made in eight years a complete conquest of all the warlike, but disunited, tribes of France from the Rhine to the ocean. He found this extensive region inhabited by three distinct races of men, different in origin, language, customs, and laws, the Celts, the Belgians, and the Aquitainans, each composed of several small nations.

During four centuries and a half the yoke of Roman government oppressed and civilized the people of Gallia or France, who in course of time became so Romanized, that the greater part of them forgot their vernacular dialects, and adopted the Latin language in their place. The separation of this country from the empire of Rome we may date from the year 407 of the christian era, when armies of Goths, under various denominations, crossed the Rhine into the Gallic territories, without afterwards retreating from the invaded country. Among the tribes who ravaged and settled in this part of Europe the Franks were ultimately the predominant nation. This people, from whom the country received its present name, appear to have originated from a voluntary union of many tribes, who denominated themselves *Franks*, a term denoting *freemen*. The founder of the French monarchy was Clovis, who succeeded

succeeded in the year 481, at the age of fifteen, to the command of a Frankish tribe denominated Salians, dwelling in the territories of Tournay and Arras, unable to furnish an army of more than five thousand men. At the age of nineteen he commenced his military career, and, as in the course of his exploits other Frankish tribes crowded to his standard, at the time of his death, in the year 511, his dominion extended over almost the whole of ancient Gaul. His four sons, among whom his territories were divided, completed the conquest of modern France before the end of the year 532.

The dominion was afterwards united under one monarch, but the posterity of Clovis became so degenerate as to obtain in history the title of *Lazy Kings*, rendering themselves mere cyphers of state, while the administration of the realm devolved on the mayor of the palace, who was steward of the household. This office became hereditary; and Pepin the short, the last who held it, mounting the throne by an almost blameless usurpation, added the title to the power of king in the year 751. Thus to the first line of monarchs, bearing the names of *long haired* and *Merovingian*, succeeded the second, denominated the *Carlovingian* race. After the death of Charlemagne, or Charles the great, the second of this line, the reader of the French history is apt to turn in disgust from the dark and perplexed annals of the succeeding reigns, distracted by the inroads of Norman pirates, domestic dissensions, and feudal anarchy. The heads of a noxious aristocracy, the holders of great fiefs, grew into a power totally incompatible

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compatible with public tranquillity: the royal demesnes and authority were almost annihilated, and the constitution was rent between the extremes of despotism and anarchy; despotism in the fiefs, and anarchy in the state. To remedy these intolerable disorders, the nobles and clergy, at the decease of Lewis the fifth, the last king of the Carlovingian dynasty, elected Hugh Capet, the possessor of the most powerful fief, who, ascending the throne in 987, gave commencement to the third line of monarchs, that of the Capets, who retained the crown eight hundred years to the great revolution which commenced in 1787.

In the Merovingian dynasty the monarchy had been hereditary; in the Carlovingian it was understood to be elective; but the choice was confined to the family of Charlemagne, and the succession proceeded nearly as if it were hereditary. In the dynasty of the Capets hereditary right was fully established in the line of primogeniture, but females by tacit custom, not by old Salique or Salian laws, as has by some been supposed, were excluded from the throne. The nobility long retained their despotism in the fiefs, and the king had little more preponderance among them than what arose from the superior force of his patrimonial estates. The political annexion of the great duchy of Normandy with the realm of England, by the conquest of the latter under William the Bastard in 1066, occasioned an intercourse of England with France, which inseparably blended the histories of the two countries in succeeding times. Many wars had happened, but no national antipathy had place before

before the reign of Edward the third of England. On the death of Lewis Hutin, king of France, without male issue, the crown devolved to his brother Philip the long; and, on the decease of the latter, to a third brother, Charles the fair. Charles also dying without male issue, his nearest male relative, Philip de Valois, his cousin-german, with the almost unanimous approbation of the French, in 1328 ascended the vacant throne. The warlike Edward the third, though he at first recognized the right of Philip, yet afterwards claimed the French crown in right of his mother Isabella, sister of Charles the fair. This claim was quite futile, since the custom of the French admitted no female right of regal succession, and since, if it were admitted, the claims of other females were preferable to that of Isabella.

But Edward, who failed in weight of argument, had recourse to force, and invading France, on the side of the Netherlands, in pursuit of this ideal object, commenced in 1339 a ruinous war; ruinous to France, whose territories were many years exposed to rueful devastations; to England exhausted of men and money; to Britain in general, which might by the prowess of such a prince have been all united into one kingdom; and to Ireland, which was thus neglected, and miserably abandoned to disastrous feuds and other evils of anarchy. Unable to procure a supply of revenue from this country, and enraged at a deficiency caused in great part by his own neglect of the peace and prosperity of the kingdom, he proceeded to take measures as rash as unjust, such

CHAP. such as tended to augment the dissensions already so
XI. calamitous in the colony.

Violent
measures.

Edward, with apparently a sovereign contempt of his subjects in Ireland, issued ordonnances for the resumption of all grants of estates and jurisdictions made by himself and his father; and for the disqualification of all, except Englishmen possessed of property in England, to hold offices in this kingdom. "Thus," says Leland, "were the descendents of those who had originally gained the English acquisitions in Ireland, who had laboured in a long course of painful and perilous service to maintain them, who daily shed their blood in the service of their monarch, pronounced indiscriminately to be dangerous, and declared incapable of filling any, even the meanest, department in administration." A violent ferment was excited among the insulted colonists, which increased from day to day, and became at length quite alarming. Sir John Morris, appointed chief governor in 1341, summoned a parliament at Dublin; but a convention, much more numerous and respectable, was at the same time held at Kilkenny by the earl of Desmond, styling itself the assembly of the prelates, nobles, and commons of the land, by whom a remonstrance was prepared, and a statement of grievances, for the consideration of his Majesty.

Petition. A petition bearing the date of 1343, the work of this or a similar convention, is extant, representing in strong terms a variety of grievances, caused by mal-administration, particularly the resumption of grants which had been made for valuable services, and

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and praying that his Majesty's subjects in Ireland should not be deprived of their freeholds, otherwise than by legal judgments according to the provision of the *great charter*. The answers of the king to the several complaints were gracious. He promised that the grants of his progenitors should be fully restored; and that those which himself had made should also be restored on security given for a surrender of them, if they should be found on legal examination resumable. To what extent a redress of grievances may have been actually carried on this occasion is unknown; but the invidious distinction, made in favour of the former, between Englishmen born in England, and men of English descent born in Ireland, caused a faction between *English by birth and English by blood*, which remained long after the removal of its original cause.

Faction.

What might have been effected in Ireland even in the weakness of English government, and neglect of the king, by a chief governor of great abilities and determined spirit, might be conjectured from the effects of Sir Ralph Ufford's administration, who was appointed to that office in 1344. Having commanded the marchers to repair to their too frequently neglected posts to repel the incursions of Irish clans; forbidden under severest penalties the conveyance of supplies to the enemy; and enforced the often violated ordonnance that *the king's lands should have one war and one peace*, that a partial attack should be regarded as a war with the whole colony; he summoned the earl of Desmond to attend a parliament in Dublin, who slighted the mandate, and issued summonses

Ufford.

1344.

summonses

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summonses for a convention of his own to meet at Callan. Ufford, having interdicted this meeting by proclamation, and marched into Munster with an army, seized the lands of the earl, executed some of his principal dependants, guilty of illegal exactions, and so terrified himself that he gave respectable sureties for his appearance to stand a trial, and afterwards fled, leaving ungenerously these friends to suffer for his default. The chief governor likewise attacked the earl of Kildare, whom he reduced by force of arms and imprisoned. By the death of Ufford, and the eagerness of the king to procure assistance in his French war, these lords regained their estates, and by leading forces into France acquired the king's favour; especially Kildare, who distinguished himself by his services at the siege of Calais.

Kelly's
turbulence.

The vigorous and determined spirit of such a governor was afterwards wanted, when the operations of the English regency in Ireland were opposed by the practices of a disaffected and turbulent ecclesiastic. To relieve the subjects from the ruinous exactions of coyne and livery, a subsidy for the support of the Irish war, of two shillings for every portion of land called a carucate the eighth part of a townland, and of two shillings in the pound from every subject whose personal fortune amounted to six pounds, had been granted by a parliament held at Kilkenny by Sir Walter Bermingham, nominated chief governor in 1348. Ralph Kelly, an Irishman, archbishop of Cashel, issued an ordonnance, with the concurrence of his suffragans, for the deprivation of all beneficed clergymen

clergymen who should presume to pay the tax, and for their disqualification to hold any living in the province ; also for the excommunication of all lay-tenants on the lands of the church who should commit the same crime, and the incapacitation of their offspring to hold any ecclesiastical benefice even so far as the third generation. He proceeded to excommunicate with the most awful solemnity all persons concerned in the collection of this impost from ecclesiastical grounds, particularly William Epworth, the king's commissioner in Tipperary, who had received it from subordinate collectors. Found guilty on an information, Kelly and his suffragans refused to appear in arrest of judgment, and escaped their due punishment by the weakness of administration.

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After the reception of the earls of Desmond and Kildare into the royal favour, no wars of note occurred for some years in the Irish annals. Insurrections were sometimes alarming, and for their suppression the earl of Desmond was nominated lord-justice. On the decease of this nobleman in 1355, Sir Thomas Rokeby, who had been before invested with that office, became chief governor, a man of uncommon probity, whose maxim was " let my dishes be wooden rather than my creditors unpaid." Great attention was given by this worthy man to the regulation of the Irish parliament, which by his means was brought nearer to the English model. According to lord Coke's account, Irish conventions before this administration, had not been so properly parliaments as assemblies of great men." To these parliaments also was consigned the decision of appeals from erroneous

Rokeby's
administration.

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roneous proceedings in the courts, which had before been carried at great expence and trouble into England.

To prevent the intrusion of secret enemies into the English settlements, by whose correspondence with the external foe their plans of defence might be betrayed, a royal mandate was issued forbidding the admission of any mere Irishman into any office or place of trust in any city, borough, or castle in the king's land; or into any ecclesiastical benefice or religious house under his majesty's dominion, on any pretence soever. Those Irish, who had obtained particular charters of denization, obtained from parliament an explanation of this law in their favour, when they found themselves affected by this prohibition. Such measures demonstrated a weakness in government; and Edward, the success of whose warfare in France, howsoever unsolid, had been in the highest degree splendid, irritated at length by the insolence of the Irish, who incessantly harassed the declining colony, adopted a plan of a promising aspect for the reduction of both Irish and degenerate English.

Lionel's
administration.

Lionel, created afterwards duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward, claimed the earldom of Ulster, with the lands belonging to it in that province and in Connaught, in right of his wife Elizabeth, daughter of the murdered earl, to whom he had been affianced in early youth. To enable him to recover his lands and reform the state of Ireland, this prince was vested with the office of chief governor, with ample power, and an army from England of fifteen

fifteen hundred men. This body, if conducted by an able commander, ready to avail himself of every advantage, and reinforced by the troops of the colonial barons, might have accomplished the end proposed, and prepared the way for a compleat reduction of the kingdom. But, an utter stranger to Irish affairs, and surrounded and deeply prejudiced by the faction of *English birth*, the prince declined all colonial assistance, and even interdicted by proclamation the approach of all persons of Irish birth, though of *English blood*, to approach his camp. Thus destitute of the most effectual aid in such circumstances, Lionel in his expedition into Thomond, which was necessary before an attempt on Ulster or Connaught, was environed by the enemy, and in danger of total destruction; till, convinced of his error, he summoned the colonists to his standard, by whose assistance he gained such advantages over the O'Briens, as to reduce their force to a very low condition.

Expectations again ran high of the prince's future success, inasmuch that both clergy and laity granted him two years value of their revenues for the maintenance of the war: but nothing of moment was effected, and the prince was recalled, unable to recover the Irish estates of his wife, when his father had vainly aimed in a ruinous war of many years at acquisition of the great French monarchy. So irrational is too frequently the conduct of the most renowned politicians. The visit of Lionel was attended with one bad consequence, that of heightening the dissension between the parties of English birth and English blood, which produced so many acts of violence as

to

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to oblige the king to issue an ordonnance, commanding his subjects of both denominations, under penalty of two years imprisonment, to abstain from all deeds of contumely and contention : yet this prince was twice afterwards appointed chief governor, and seemed from his past experience not unqualified for the function. Despairing of a conquest of the Irish under the circumstances in which he found the country, he confined his attention to the regulation and reformation of the English colony ; and for this purpose he summoned a parliament in 1367, more numerous and respectable than had hitherto been convened in Ireland, by which, composed of both estates in one house, was enacted a celebrated ordonnance, distinguished by the name of the *Statute of Kilkenny*.

1367.

Statute
of Kilkenny.

This statute, framed chiefly to prevent the degeneracy of the English colonists, interdicted, under the penalty of high treason, marriage, fosterage, and other such connexions with the Irish ; the adoption of an Irish name, the use of the Irish language, garb, or customs, under the forfeiture of lands, or imprisonment, until security should be given for a reformation of conduct ; the use of the Brehon Law among English on penalty of high treason ; the making of war on the Irish without special licence from government ; the presentation of Irishmen to ecclesiastical benefices, and the reception of them into monasteries or religious houses ; the entertainment of Irish bards and newsmongers, the propagators of false reports ; and, under pain of felony, the quartering of soldiers on English subjects without their consent. Sheriffs were empowered to enter

all

all palatinates and privileged places for the seizure of criminals, who had before found sanctuary there; and four wardens of the peace were ordered to be appointed in each county to adjudge what men and armour every person should furnish for the public service in war, that the partiality of the barons might be obviated, who commonly oppressed some to favour others. The prelates, who voted for this act, super-added the sanction of the church, denouncing excommunication against all who should violate any of its rules.

This exclusive statute, barring all connexions between English and Irish, a statute at several times afterwards revived with modifications, often necessarily relaxed by authority in particular cases, never strictly observed, nor in the then existing circumstances strictly observable, had but a temporary effect on the internal peace of the colony, nor in any considerable degree prevented its decline. A scheme of denization, to incorporate septs of Irish with the colonists under the same laws and government, and to lay a foundation for a general extension of the English constitution to the Irish, instead of declaring them enemies excluded from intercourse, might have been more worthy of the heroic, but misguided, Edward, and of his son, whose claims were so extensive, and whose influence might have been so great in Ireland. But a generous and enlightened policy, which, sacrificing empty pride and immediate advantages, apparent, not solid, adopts a plan of present difficulty for substantial interests in future, was above the genius of the

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Posterior
transac-
tions.

the age, at least of the men in power among the English of Ireland.

For the space of twenty-seven years after the enactment of these laws, we find nothing in the annals of this country but petty transactions attendant on the retrogradation of the colony, dissensions among the settlers, desultory attacks of Irish clans on the English and among themselves, complaints of oppressive conduct in chief governors, and of English absentees, the owners of Irish estates, who declined to attend in person for the defence of their possessions, or to send substitutes for that purpose. In the administration of Sir William Windfore, which commenced in 1369, the dishonourable plan was adopted, a plan demonstrative of the government's debility, of employing Irish chieftains to protect the colony, in consideration of pensions, which they regarded as tributes, and of which the payment, when delayed by any accident, they enforced by hostility. These pensions, with other charges, could not be paid without remittances from England, for we are assured by Davies that the whole revenue accruing to the English government out of Ireland, both certain and casual, amounted not to ten thousand pounds annually, on an average of the best seven years during the long reign of Edward the third. Into so abject a statute was the colony fallen, and so foul was become the country's reputation, that when Sir Richard Pembridge, warden of the cinque ports, was nominated chief governor, he refused to execute the commission, and his refusal was justified, as *going into*

into even in that high office, was adjudged to be *going into exile*. CHAP.
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Edward's foreign wars, which caused his inattention to important concerns at home, and the decline of the English power in Ireland, exposed the country also to the attacks of enemies from abroad. The Scots, French, and Spaniards infested the coasts. A fleet of the two latter sustained from an English navy, with the aid of the inhabitants, in the harbour of Kinsale, a severe defeat, the loss of many men, several ships, and twenty English vessels of which they had made prize. Little alteration was for some years the consequence of Edward's decease, and the accession of his grandson, Richard the second. We find early in this reign a chief governor punished, but the particulars of the prosecution are not recorded. Philip de Courtney, a cousin of the king, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1382 for the term of ten years, was in less than two superseded, arrested for extortion, and his effects were seized to answer for the losses of the persons aggrieved.

1377.

The disordered state of the colony, and the expences of its maintenance, caused so much clamour in England, that successive schemes were formed for the conquest of the Irish and degenerate English, which by the king's weakness became abortive. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, the great favourite of Richard, was created marquis of Dublin, vested with the entire dominion of Ireland under certain reservations, and furnished with an army, but never visited the kingdom, as the king could not dispense with

Abortive
schemes of
conquest.

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with the charms of his society. His deputy, Sir John Stanley, was unavailingly successful against O'Nial of Tyr-owen, who surrendered with his son, feigned the deepest humiliation, and gave hostages for an allegiance and fidelity which he had no intention to realize. The duke of Gloucester, an enterprising prince, uncle to the king, was on his own offer commissioned to lead an army into Ireland; but when he was ready to embark, he was countermanded by his nephew, who declared his resolution to go in person into that distracted country, and to take its concerns into his own immediate care.

C H A P.

C H A P. XII.

Visit of Richard the second to Ireland—Renewal of hostilities—Death of Mortimer—Richard's second expedition into Ireland—Mac-Murchad—Richard's deposition—Transactions posterior to this event—Lancaster's administration—Weakness of the colony—Black rent—Wretchedness of the colony—Henry the fifth's accession—State of the colony in his reign—Accession of Henry the sixth—Unjust acts of Desmond—Factions in England—Duke of York lord lieutenant—His return to England—Hostilities of Irish septs—York's second administration—His death—Further decline of the English power in Ireland.

RICHARD the second of England, grandson of Edward the third, and son of the heroic Edward the black prince, came a minor to the throne at the age of eleven, and in the first years of his reign gave hopes, which afterwards proved fruitless, of a government conducted with wisdom and ability. Of his expedition into Ireland, which he undertook at the age of twenty-eight, a cause is assigned not incongruous with his vanity. Proposing himself a candidate for the imperial crown of Germany, and refused by the electors, as a prince unable to support the dignity of his throne against the opponents of his power in Ireland, beside other enemies, he resolved, for the establishment of his character as an able monarch, to begin with the subjugation of the Irish chieftains. Sending before him Sir Thomas

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Richard's
villis.

1394.

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Scroop to make preparations for his due reception, he landed at Waterford in October, in the year thirteen hundred and ninety-four, with an army of thirty-four thousand men, of whom four thousand were men-at-arms, a force of such magnitude as Ireland had never seen, sufficient, if wisely conducted to its proper purpose, for the settling of this island in a state of lasting peace and prosperity, by the subjugation of the various septs of Irish, and their incorporation under the same political constitution with the colonists. The capacity of Richard was below the execution or conception of this necessary plan.

No general confederacy nor scheme of resistance was adopted by the Irish chieftains; all of whom, after some slight skirmishes of some septs in Leinster, made their submissions, not less in number than seventy-five; for so many were found on this occasion to be the lords or petty monarchs of the Irish. The king in person received at Drogheda the homage of the northern dynasts; Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, that of the lords of Leinster. To perform the ceremony of submission, to promise fealty, the payment of tribute, and the keeping of the peace inviolate, were merely the terms required or proposed, terms always regarded by the Irish clans as no other than formalities, necessary to be observed only during convenience. To the degenerate English, incorporated with hostile septs, and consequently deemed rebels, a truce of some months was granted, and a general pardon intended, on their plea of oppression, and defenceless exposure to the enemy, which

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which had forced them to seek refuge among the natives. On O'Nial of Ulster, O'Connor of Connaught, O'Brien of North-Munster, and Mac-Murchad of Leinster, together with some others, he conferred the honour of knighthood, which was but reluctantly received, as they had among themselves what they called knighthood, though its nature and ceremonies were different. Having spent nine months in Ireland in frivolous parade, particularly in feasts given in Dublin to the Irish toparchs, Richard returned home to persecute heretics, the Lollards, leaving this unfortunate island precisely in the same state in which he had found it, excepting a temporary appearance of deceitful tranquility. 1395.

The futile conclusion of the splendid preparations and pompous enterprize of Richard, symbolized by the fable of a mountain in parturition, was in a little time evident. The septs of Leinster had promised in their treaties of submission what they never intended to perform, and what indeed was cruel to demand, that they should entirely evacuate this province for the use of the colonists, and seek settlements elsewhere for themselves. Attempts to enforce this part of the treaty occasioned a furious war, various in success, but adverse to the English. A victory of considerable importance was gained by two knights of the De Burgo and Bermingham families; and the O'Byrns were driven from their lands in Wicklow by the earl of Ormond, and Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, the lord lieutenant: but a body of the king's forces was defeated with great slaughter by the sept of O'Toole; and the O'Byrns, being

Hostilities
renewed.

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being pursued into Ossory, attacked their pursuers by surprize, and defeated them with the destruction of many men, among whom was the lord lieutenant slain on the field of battle.

1398.

Second ex-
pedition of
Richard.

Enraged at the audacity of the Leinstrians and the death of Mortimer his cousin, Richard assembled an army at Bristol, and sailed thence to 1399. Waterford, where he landed on the thirteenth of May, in the year thirteen hundred and ninety-nine. Having spent six days at this town in the receiving of congratulations, and fourteen at Kilkenny, in fruitlessly waiting for a reinforcement under the duke of Aumerle, he proceeded through a country wasted by war to attack Art Mac-Murchad, a politic and enterprising chieftain. With a body of three thousand well-armed followers, this leader so availed himself of the bogs and woods of his country, the admirable agility of his men, and their expertness in desultory onsets, as to baffle the far superior numbers and discipline of the royal army. This army consisting of thirty thousand men, was forced at length to an inglorious retreat, incessantly harassed by an enemy, who, casting missiles with fatal strength, eluded a combat, and so miserably pressed by famine, against which the thoughtless king had made no provision, that when some vessels, sent from Dublin to relieve their wants, anchored on the coast, the soldiers rushed furiously into the water, and slaughtered one another in their eagerness of scramble to appease their hunger.

Mac-Murchad, while he infested the retreating army on its march to Dublin, endeavoured to avail himself

himself of present circumstances for the accomplishment of an advantageous treaty. The duke of Gloucester and this warrior held a conference on this subject at a place appointed, each attended by his guard. "An eye-witness," in the words of Leland, "describes the Irish chieftain tall of stature, and formed for agility and strength, of an aspect fierce and severe, mounted on a swift and steady horse, without saddle, and darting rapidly from a mountain between two woods adjacent to the sea, attended by his train. At his command they halted at due distance, while their leader, casting the spear from him, which he grasped in his right hand, rushed forward to meet the English lord." The eye-witness was a French gentleman, who has left us a narrative of this expedition. The interview terminated without any accommodation, and Richard continued his march to Dublin, where, after a delay of six weeks, without intelligence from England, on account of storms and contrary winds, he at length received the dismal news of a general insurrection of the English for his deposition, and the raising of Henry, duke of Lancaster, to the throne in his place.

From this time, when Richard lost his kingdom and life, Ireland was little regarded by its English monarchs during a long period, a period including the reigns of three successive Henrys, the fourth, fifth, and sixth. The attention of the first, a usurper of the throne, found full employment in the establishment of his new authority amid powerful malcontents: the second was wholly engaged in a glorious, a vainly glorious, war in France: and the reign

Posterior
transaction.

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reign of the third, incapacitated by mental weakness to wield the scepter, was distracted by factions, and ended in civil war. In the records of Ireland, for a long space of time, we find little of an interesting, and still less of an agreeable nature. Confused and irregular contests, often accompanied with atrocious cruelties, among septa of Irish and degenerate English; desultory invasions of the Pale; dissensions and feuds of barons; complaints of oppression and acts of insolence committed by governors, and other officers of English blood; and conventions of parliament without freedom or efficacy, compose the general matter, with repeated symptoms of the colony's declension to its most abject state of debility and precarious existence.

So repulsive appears to have been the country's reputation, that few natives of England were willing to take the chief place, or other offices, in the government of Ireland, excepting such men as would undertake whatever should be offered for private emolument, which they seem to have pursued without regard to the colony's welfare, and with little consideration of justice or humanity. An insolent contempt of the colonial parliament was forcibly displayed in the year 1417, when a petition to the king, representing the grievances of his subjects in this kingdom, was prepared for presentation, and the chancellor Merbury absolutely refused to affix to it the great seal of Ireland, without which, from established custom, it could not be presented. Governors more agreeable to the colonists were sometimes appointed, men of Irish birth or of high rank in

in England. Henry the fourth, in the beginning of his reign, nominated his second son, Thomas duke of Lancaster, to the office of chief governor, when the colony was infested not only by septs of Irish, but also by Scots, who had formed settlements in Ulster, and totally defeated a fleet from Dublin sent to oppose them. After this prince's first arrival in 1402, some success was obtained, particularly by a fleet from Dublin and Drogheda, which annoyed the Scottish coasts, and even those of Wales, where a revolt against Henry had taken place. From Wales was brought among the booty the shrine of Cubin, a celebrated saint, which according to the superstition of the times was triumphantly placed in the cathedral of Dublin. Nothing however of an effectual nature was performed; and Lancaster, being fiercely opposed in his second visit, for which he had made some considerable preparations, and defeated and wounded under the walls of Dublin by some septs of Leinster, returned to England, leaving the colony to its own resources.

The weakness of councils, as of military defence, can hardly pass unnoticed in the transactions of those times. Though the Irish were declared to be enemies excluded from the protection of English law, they were forbidden to emigrate from the kingdom without special licences under the great seal of Ireland, lest hands should be wanted for agriculture and other purposes. Such a restrictive statute seems little consistent with the circumstances of the colony, unable, as it was, to defend itself by arms, and obliged, for its safety, to have recourse to the payment

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ment of tributes to Irish chieftains to purchase their uncertain protection, or abstinence from hostility. The regular payment of an annual stipend of this nature, which commenced about this period, became in some years fully established, and was long continued, under the denomination of *black rent*. Miserable was indeed become the situation of those colonists, who still retained the name and laws of Englishmen, regarded on one hand as intruding foreigners by the Irish, on the other by the ignorant pride of the natives of England as a degenerate and barbarous race, in the same predicament with the aboriginals. The conduct of Irish vagrants tended much to confirm this prejudice, who resorted in such numbers to England for the gaining of a wretched sustenance by various modes of knavery, that in the beginning of Henry the fifth's reign, who ascended the throne in the year 1413, a law was enacted for their expulsion from South-Britain. The execution of this ordonnance was absurdly extended to all of Irish birth, without exception of ancestry or character, even to the students in the inns of court, who were thus excluded from the study of the very laws by which they were to be governed.

This able monarch, heroic and generous, but, like Edward the third, unfortunate in the wrong choice of an object, engaging in fallacious and destructive schemes of conquest in France, was so far from sending forces for the extension of the English colony, that he drew what troops he could from it for the aid of his foreign warfare, particularly at one time fifteen hundred men under the prior of Kilmainham. The existence of the English settlements in Ireland seemed

seemed now precarious. Irish chieftains had in king Richard's time entered into recognizances to keep the peace, payable into the apostolic chamber; but these were disregarded; nor would the Irish clergy, not subject to the king of England, be forward to second any resolutions of the sovereign pontiff, against their countrymen, for the promotion of the English interest. The feeble colony owed its preservation to the contempt into which it had fallen among the Irish; to payment of tributes, which, as an acknowledgement of their sovereignty, gratified the pride of Irish toparchs; to the disunion of the septs and their mutual jealousy, almost as great towards one another as towards the English, who were considered as a particular sept in some degree naturalized, and under the protection of certain dynasts. Great numbers of English were completely blended with the ancient natives, and others were in a kind of intermediate state, in various steps of gradation, between the condition of subjects to the king and of enemies to his power. The handful of subjects might certainly by a confederacy of aborigines have soon been subdued or exterminated: and when we find in the writings of English annalists, and in acts of state, the septs of old natives represented as continually engaged in a design by united efforts to extirpate the colonists, we are to consider such representations as framed in mistake or through interested views, to magnify the zeal of great officers, to conceal offences, and chiefly to procure sums of money from England. In the Irish annals are more naturally depicted the spirit and transactions of the clans, engaged in mutual hostilities, and especially those

of

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of a remote situation, seldom turning their attention to the English settlements.

Henry the
sixth.
1422.

1443.

Yet sometimes by extraordinary exertions the English interest had a temporary appearance of revival. After the accession of Henry the sixth, who inherited the crown in his infant state, in the year 1422, the administrations of John Talbot, lord Furnival, and of James Butler, earl of Ormond, who came successively into the office of lord-deputy in 1425 and 1426, were distinguished by successful operations, not particularly recorded; against septs of Irish and degenerate English, who were obliged to make submissions; and for some time to observe a peaceable demeanour. But the weakness of government was insulted by these who still called themselves English, of which James, earl of Desmond, furnished a strong instance. This lord had by force of arms usurped the earldom from his nephew Thomas, who had incurred the dislike of his brutal followers by his marriage with a lady named Catherine Mac-Cormac, beautiful and virtuous, but of inferior rank. Sanctioned in this violence by the injustice or feebleness of parliament, he extended his usurpation to a large territory called the Kingdom of Cork, which he retained in defiance of the legal claimants, the families of Carew and De Courcey. His interest became so powerful that he obtained licence to absent himself from all parliaments during life, and to send a sufficient proxy. Thus formally acquiring the state of an independent prince, which his predecessors had often affected, he disclaimed the authority of the lord lieutenant, the earl of Ormond, who after some hostilities was obliged

1445.

obliged to suspend the contest by a truce for one year. When arms were suspended, hostilities by faction and intrigue were pursued with great violence against Ormond, which, though foiled at first, prevailed so far afterwards as to cause his removal from the government, and the appointment of John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford, in his place. But, notwithstanding that this lord lieutenant adopted the hostile spirit of Desmond's partizans, by whom the persecution was pertinaciously continued, the English court could be no further led into measures against Ormond. From the protection thus afforded by Henry the sixth, appears to have originated the lasting attachment of the Butler family to the house of Lancaster.

Factions of disastrous issue, which had begun to ferment in England, soon after extended their influence to the Irish barons, and in a course of years brought the English colony to its lowest ebb of decline. The usurpation of Henry the fourth, descended from the third son of Edward the third, was maintained by the great abilities of the usurper, and almost forgotten in the splendid reign of his magnanimous and warlike son; but under the weak and unpopular government of Henry the sixth, the family of York, deriving its origin from Lionel, the second son of the same Edward, began, as an elder branch, to advance its claims to the throne. Edmund, earl of Marche and Ulster, the head of this family, had been sent into Ireland as lord lieutenant in the beginning of this reign, that he might be removed

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moved from public view. By his death, which happened suddenly at the town of Trim, the rights of his family devolved on Richard, duke of York, his brother. The duke, an inheritor of ample estates, and much more ample claims, in Ireland, the earldom of Ulster, and the lordships of Connaught, Clare, Trim, and Meath, accepted the office of chief governor, but stipulated for extensive privileges, to hold his place for ten years, to receive the whole Irish revenue without account, to be allowed a yearly pension from England of two thousand marks, beside an immediate supply of two thousand more, to be empowered to set the king's lands, to dispose of all offices, to levy such forces as he should think necessary, to nominate his deputy, and to return to England at his pleasure.

1449. This prince, who personally entered on the function of lord lieutenant in 1449, found in this country, and seems to have sought, no great opportunity for a display of military talents. His principal expedition was against a chief named Mac-Eoghaghan, who had made an incursion into Meath from the north, and to whom he granted peace on equitable terms. In parliaments convened by him in Dublin and Drogheda several statutes were enacted, and several revived, particularly one which interdicted *cofspering*, and other species of arbitrary exaction, under pain of felony. But the most lasting effect of his administration was the popularity which he acquired by his engaging deportment, in which he displayed

displayed the dignity of a prince with an apparent cordiality of affection as a kinsman to the Irish subjects. His complaisance was indiscriminately extended to men of all parties. The earls of Desmond and Ormond, rival barons, were equally invited to stand sponsors for George his son, born in the castle of Dublin; a compliment more justly appreciated by the latter, who was acquainted with the English court, and attached to the reigning monarch, than by the former, who had imbibed the ideas of the old natives, and regarded gossipred as a bond of the closest affinity.

An insurrection raised in Kent by John Cade, an Irishman, was imputed to the machinations of the duke for a trial of the people's affection for the house of York, as Cade had assumed the name of Mortimer. This and other imputations afforded the viceroy a fair pretext for his return into England to justify his conduct, where afterwards commenced the long and bloody contest between the houses of Lancaster and York, denominated the *war of the Roses*, because the ensign of the Yorkists was a white rose, and that of the Lancastrians a red. Among the petty incursions and other hostile acts of Irish clans, which had place in the duke's absence, one may be worthy of notice for an instance of paternal and filial affection. O'Connor of Ophally, having made an incursion into Kildare, was surprised and defeated by Edward Fitzestace, the lord-deputy, and reduced in his flight to such an alternative, that either himself or his son must fall into the enemy's hands,

Hostilities
of sept.

CHAP.
XII.

1454.

hands, since only one horse fit for the purpose of escape remained for both. A generous contest between the father and son, each exhorting the other to fly and leave himself to his fate, ended in the caption of the father, whose offence, as the reader will not be displeased to hear, was judged so inconsiderable that he was liberated without injury.

The most formidable opposition which this deputy encountered was made by O'Nial and his confederates of Ulster, who maintained hostilities on sea as well as land, sending a fleet of barks which captured some English vessels on their passage from Dublin, and took prisoner, among others, the archbishop of that see. But the confederates, commanded by a son of O'Nial, were at length totally defeated by Fitzeustace at Ardglaf, in a furious and obstinate battle, where the general was taken, and five or six hundred of his men slain. The O'Nials, the ancient claimants of the Irish monarchy, and consequently the greatest enemies to the English power, were by this loss disabled for some time from dangerous warfare against the colony, and confined their arms to the local quarrels among the northern septs.

York's second administration.

1459.

The duke of York, who had been at first successful, was defeated at Blore-heath on the borders of Staffordshire, and fled for safety into Ireland, where the earl of Kildare had been acting as his deputy. Most cordial was the reception of the fugitive prince, particularly by the Geraldines of Desmond and Kildare; and for his safety, and that of his followers,

such

such acts were passed by the Irish parliament as almost declared the colony independent of the English crown. Nor were these laws permitted to lie dormant whenever they were infringed. An agent of the earl of Ormond, who attempted, in virtue of the king's writ, to arrest some persons, declared rebels by the authority of the reigning party in England, was seized and executed, as a violator of a statute, by which those persons were pronounced guilty of high treason, who under pretence of such writs, or any other authority, should molest strangers received under the laws of hospitality in Ireland.

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XII.

Edward, earl of Marche, afterwards better known by the title of king Edward the fourth, eldest son of the duke of York, had followed his father into Ireland, whence he shortly departed to join an army raised by the Yorkists for a fresh attempt. The success of this army at Northampton, where the Lancastrians were defeated, induced the duke to return to England; and such eagerness was displayed by the English of Ireland to follow his standard, that some settlements, particularly those of Meath, were almost exhausted of men. The battle of Wakefield in Yorkshire, fatal to the duke, who with only five thousand men, mostly from Ireland, was surrounded by twenty thousand, and slain on the field of action, with most of his followers, might have proved fatal to the English colony in Ireland, if the Irish lords had availed themselves fully of its defenceless condition; but when they had separately

Death of
York.
1460.

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XII.

parately attacked the settlements, they separately agreed to articles of pacification on the regular payment of tribute. O'Nial in Ulster, O'Brien and Mac-Arthy in north and south Munster, and other chiefs, received their annual revenues from the colonists, and afforded their protection,

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C H A P. XIII.

Factions on the accession of Edward the fourth—Defeat of the Butlers—Fall of Desmond—Weakness of the Pale—Diffensions—Administration of Gerald, earl of Kildare—Accession of Henry the seventh—Atrocity of Keating—Plot of Lambert Simnel—Battle of Stoke—Pardons of the Irish barons—Laconic messages—Perkin Warbeck—Diffensions of the Geraldines and Butlers—State of the Pale—Sir Edward Poynings—Acts of the parliament convened by him—Second attempt of Warbeck in Ireland—Return of Poynings to England.

THE English of Ireland, by taking part in the war of the Roses, not only thinned the colony of its warriors, but also distracted the mass of its people by the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions, to the former of which adhered the Geraldines, to the latter the Butlers or house of Ormond. In the triumph of the Yorkists, on the accession of Edward the fourth to the throne in 1461, the earl of Ormond was executed, and bills of attainder passed against his kinsmen and adherents by the Irish parliament. Sir John Butler, brother and heir of the deceased earl, collected in Munster a body of troops to oppose Sir Rowland Fitzeustace, the deputy of George, duke of Clarence, the king's brother, who had been appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland for

CHAP.
XIII.Edward
the fourth.
Factions.

1462.

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XIII.

life. To the deputy this war might have been difficult, perhaps disastrous, if the young earl of Desmond had not armed in his favour with all his force. Even thus the Butlers were for some time victorious, making a prisoner of Gerald, a brother of the earl, penetrating into Leinster, and seizing the town of Wexford; but, romantically accepting the challenge of Desmond to a pitched battle, they were defeated by superior numbers, and obliged to take refuge in remote castles, leaving their lands, with Kilkenny and other towns, in the hands of their enemies.

Fall of
Desmond.

Thomas, the victorious earl of Desmond, nominated lord deputy, on account of his services, in 1463, met a sad reverse in Meath, into which he had marched against the sept of Melaghlin and its Irish confederates. His forces were totally routed, and himself made prisoner, but liberated by young O'Connor of Ophally, through affection of gossip, whose father had before been taken and dismissed. The English Pale seemed in danger of annihilation, when the Irish dynasts were soothed by new cessions and tributes, particularly O'Brien of Thomond, to whom, with an acquisition of lands, was a tribute secured of sixty marks annually by the citizens of Limerick. Tarnished in reputation and diminished in importance, the earl was assailed by the representations of his enemies at the English court, but continued to hold his place in their defiance, till the tide of court-favour became adverse by the marriage of the king with Elizabeth Widvoelle. He is said to have incurred the queen's resentment by
offensive

offensive words; but whatever was the cause, he was superseded in his government by the appointment of John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, in 1467, who seemed most unfavourably prepossessed against him.

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XIII.

In a parliament held at Drogheda, an act of attainder was passed against the earls of Desmond and Kildare, for a breach of statutes enacted against forgerie and other connexions and intercourse with the Irish, statutes mostly dormant or so very little observed, as to be fit only for engines of oppression in the hands of a ruling party. Kildare was imprisoned; and Desmond, who might have defended himself by arms against the power of the deputy, waited on him in person to justify his conduct; so strong was his reliance on either his innocence or importance; but, to the utter amazement of his dependants, he was instantly beheaded. Kildare, escaping by some means into England, pleaded so powerfully his cause with the king, that he was not only pardoned, but some time after appointed lord-deputy in place of Tiptoft, who, after his return to the English court, was, in a short-lived triumph of the Lancastrian party, condemned by an act of attainder and beheaded.

1468.

1470.

The low condition of the colony appears from the measures concerted for the Pale's defence in the administration of this baron. By an act of parliament was instituted a *fraternity of arms*, consisting of thirteen principal persons in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Argial or Louth, in which resided the mass of English subjects. These were em-

Weakness
of the Pale.
1474.

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XIII.

powered annually to elect on Saint George's day a captain, for whose train were assigned a hundred and twenty archers on horseback, and forty other horsemen, each furnished with one attendant. Taxes were assigned for the pay of these troops, which was six pence a day to each archer, and five pence to each of the rest with his attendant, together with an annual salary of four marks. A force of only two hundred and thirteen men, with such tumultuary levies as might be occasionally raised, could constitute a defence merely against local incursions of small parties, while the chief security of the Pale depended on the protection of Irish dynasts purchased by shameful tributes. We find that, in some years afterwards, the annual expence of five hundred pounds for the support of a small defensive establishment was suspected to be too great for the resources of English government in Ireland; and though this was equal in efficient value to five thousand pounds at present, the poverty of the colonial establishment at this period must even thus appear sufficiently manifest.

Diffensions. The administration of Kildare was interrupted, and the distractions of the Pale renewed, by the reviving spirits of the Butlers, the surviving head of whom, John, who had been unsuccessful in the field, escaping into England, so ingratiated himself into the king's favour by an extraordinary polish of manners and address, that by his influence a new deputy was appointed, Shirwood, bishop of Meath, and the act of attainder by the Irish parliament repealed. The rekindled feuds of the two great houses, after
 alarming

1475

alarming hostilities, were for some time suspended. Ormond, according to the fashionable superstition of the dark ages, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and his rival, Kildare, departed from life. The family of the latter, after some time regained an ascendancy, and Gerald, the young earl, was nominated deputy; but Edward immediately afterwards, with remarkable unsteadiness on this occasion, sent Henry lord Grey as governor, attended by a body of archers and three hundred men at arms. Here the weakness of government appeared conspicuous. Gerald rejected the authority of Grey's commission on pretence of its informality, absolutely refused to resign, and held parliaments in opposition to those which were convened by the new deputy. Kildare, the prelate of Dublin, and others, were summoned into England to account to the king for the distractions of colonial administration: Lord Grey resigned; and Gerald, whose representations were judged satisfactory, or influence powerful, was appointed governor of Ireland as deputy to Richard duke of York, who on the successive deaths of the duke of Clarence, and prince George, the king's son, was vested with the title of lord lieutenant of this kingdom.

1479.

During the remaining years of Edward the fourth, the short succeeding reigns of Edward the fifth and Richard the third, with much of the reign also of Henry the seventh, Kildare continued to hold the colonial government, defending the Pale, and interfering as mediator in the contests of Irish to-parchs, among whom his influence was highly augmented

Kildare's
administra-
tion.

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XIII.

mented by a new connexion. He gave his sister in marriage to Con O'Nial of Tyr-owen, son of the greatest among the Irish lords, who in consequence was vested by act of parliament with all the rights of a liegeman or English subject; rights little regarded by the O'Nials, who considered themselves as connected with the Geraldine family, not with the crown of England.

Henry the
seventh.
1485

That Henry the seventh, a Lancastrian prince, inveterately hostile to all the Yorkists, permitted Kildare still to hold the place of lord-deputy, when Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, uncle to the king, was nominated lord lieutenant of Ireland, seems accountable only from the timidity or prudence of a monarch not yet unshakeably seated on the throne. Of lawless force and disregard of external authority, practised in the Pale under this administration, the behaviour of Keating the prior of Kilmainham, a member of the military order of Saint John of Jerusalem, was a striking instance. Keating having alienated the revenues, and even sold the ornaments and relics of the house committed to his charge, was deprived by the grand master of his order; but he refused to submit, and seized his appointed successor, Lomley, an Englishman of distinction, forced from him the instruments of his election, and held his place without regard of the royal pleasure, or even an excommunication pronounced against him, while the unfortunate Lomley perished without redress in prison. Kildare himself, when summoned into England to attend the king, whose suspicions were excited of a plot in Ireland against his govern-
ment,

ment, eluded the mandate by a petition procured from the lords of the Pale, temporal and spiritual, representing their apprehensions of danger to the colony from the deputy's absence, until some regulations for the public safety should have been formed by a parliament.

That the suspicions of Henry were not unfounded soon appeared from the plot of Lambert Simnel. While the impolitic oppression of the Yorkists in England by this in most respects politic monarch excited their ardent wishes for the subversion of his power, a youth of fifteen years, named Lambert Simnel, son of a baker, endowed with uncommon address and understanding, was tutored by Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, to personate the young earl of Warwick, a nephew of Edward the fourth, confined by the cruel caution of the reigning monarch in the tower of London. Ireland, where the Yorkists were predominant, and where the duke of Clarence, the father of Warwick, had been born, was chosen by the conductors of the plot for the first scene of this pretender's operations. When his arrival was announced in Dublin with his fabricated escape from prison, the people almost universally declared in his favour, and the lord-deputy with his council of state proclaimed him king under the name of Edward the sixth, without consideration of other claims to the English crown preferable to that of Warwick. His coronation was afterwards performed with all possible pomp, with a diadem taken from an image of the Blessed Virgin, in Christ's church, whence he was conveyed, according to a custom of the

Lambert
Simnel.

1486.

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XIII.

the ancient Irish, on the shoulders of an English chieftain of Meath, named Darcy, to the castle.

Doubtless the nobles of England, who favoured, or conspired in this project, meant only to make a pageant of Simnel, whom, on the accomplishment of their purpose, the overthrow of Henry, they could easily set aside. The scheme was warmly seconded by Margaret, dutchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward the fourth, who sent into Ireland a body of two thousand veteran Germans under the command of Martin Swaart, an officer of military experience and valour, accompanied by several malcontents of England, particularly the lords Lincoln and Lovel. The plan proposed by the principal conspirators was to endeavour to draw Henry with his army into Ireland, by remaining in their station here, which would leave room for the insurrection of his enemies in England : but this was impracticable from the condition of the colony. Only a small and impoverished part of Ireland, utterly unequal to the support of a court and army, belonged to the English of the Pale, whose feebleness was such in the midst of their preparations for Henry's dethronement, that their borders were with impunity ravaged by a sept of Irish. The ardour of the soldiers, who hoped for success, honours, and rewards, accorded with the necessity of the case ; and the army, sailing for England, landed at Foudrey in Lancashire, commanded by the earl of Lincoln, and accompanied, among others, by the lords Thomas and Maurice Fitzgerald, brothers of the lord deputy.

Henry,

CHAP.
XIII.Battle of
Stoke.

Henry, who had in England exposed the impotence of Simnel, by exhibiting the real Warwick to the eyes of the people, had also been active in military preparations. Hastening from London, on intelligence of the invasion, he collected his forces, and advanced at their head to Coventry. The invaders, joined soon after their landing by Sir Thomas Broughton and his troop, according to a concerted plan, directed at first their march towards York; but utterly disappointed in their hopes of an insurrection of the people in their favour, who prudently declined a coalition with German and Irish adventurers, notwithstanding their endeavours of conciliation by an inoffensive progress through the country, they saw the expediency of a quick decision, and, taking the way to Newark, met the royal army at the village of Stoke in the shire of Nottingham. The battle fought at this place on the sixth of June in the year 1487, was one of the most obstinate and bloody recorded by historians, and, notwithstanding the great superiority of number on the side of Henry, might have been attended with a different event, if the Irish troops had been armed and disciplined in the English manner. But the English colonists, forgetting the heavy armour and weapons of their ancestors, had adopted those of the old natives, fit only for light skirmishes or desultory warfare. Yet the furious onset and desperate valour of the troops from Ireland, supported by the steadiness of the veteran Germans, made for some time an alarming impression; but the slaughter of these men, who, though unable to stand against superior arms, disdained to retreat, so disheartened

1487.

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XIII.

heartened their associates as to cause a more speedy determination of the victory in favour of the king. With Lincoln, Lovel, Swaart, Broughton, and the two Fitzgeralds, fell four thousand of the invaders. Among the prisoners were Simnel and his tutor Simon. The latter perished in prison : the former, admitted to pardon by the real or affected magnanimity of the monarch, was first made a scullion in the royal kitchen, and afterwards promoted in the king's household to the office of falconer.

Pardons. Pardon to the offending colonists, on their humble solicitation, was thought expedient by Henry, apprehensive of molestation from malcontents at home; and all had offended except some prelates, the baron of Hoath, the Butlers who had been forced to take refuge in England, the earl of Desmond, who had remained neutral, rather as an independent Irish dynast than an English baron, and the citizens of Waterford, who had positively refused to proclaim the counterfeit monarch, and given defiance to the threats of Kildare. To these citizens were addressed letters from the king in praise of their past, and exhortation of their future fidelity. To receive new oaths of allegiance, and to confer forgiveness in form, Sir Richard Edgewood was sent into Ireland with a train of five hundred soldiers. From the general pardon was justly excepted Keating, the prior of Kilmainham, who ended a life of audacious turbulence in exile and poverty. Absolution from the sentence of excommunication, which had been pronounced against the adherents of Simnel, accompanied the graces of the royal clemency ; but the superstition of

of the age, and the chicane by which the most solemn obligations were supposed evadible, may be conceived from the narrative of Edgecumbe, who particularly specifies that the *host*, on which the Irish barons were sworn, had by stipulation been consecrated by his own chaplain, on whose fidelity he reposed the greatest reliance. This ceremony, however, was probably not any matter of scruple to Kildare, who had declined to receive pardon otherwise than on terms dictated by himself, and who still continued to hold the office of lord deputy.

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The English Pale, thus further weakened by the loss of its men slaughtered in the battle of Stoke, was preserved by the activity and influence of Kildare, and the mutual hostilities of Irish chieftains. Of these petty wars, incessant in one or other part of the island, the narratives of which would be disgusting from their near similitude, and barbarity of the actors, one, at this time waged with great fury between the dynasts of Tyr-owen and Tirconnel, was chiefly remarkable for the Laconic manner in which a threat was denounced on one side, and a defiance returned on the other. *Send me tribute, or else—* was the message of O’Nial: *I owe you none, and if—* was the answer from Tirconnel. The barbarous devastations of this contest, which the lord deputy, connected by marriage with the dynast of Tyr-owen, endeavoured in vain to prevent, were suspended at length by the murder of O’Nial and the infirmities of his enemy.

* Perkin
Warbeck.

The colony, which had so severely suffered by taking a part in the Yorkist and Lancastrian contests, was in danger of being again involved in troubles by a new

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a new claimant of the English throne. Richard the third, the last of the Plantagenet line of kings, the usurper of the monarchy from his nephew Edward the fifth, had imprisoned this young prince and his brother, the two sons of Edward the fourth, in the tower of London, where both were supposed to have been murdered. A rumour, however, prevailed that the younger of the princes, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had effected his escape, and remained some where in concealment. A youth of polished manners and princely deportment, known in history by the name of Perkin Warbeck, made his appearance in the character of this young son of Edward, and claimed the monarchy. To discuss the question whether this was the real Plantagenet or an impostor, belongs not to the historian of Irish affairs, in which this personage was not much concerned. Difficulties are opposed to the assent on either side; but that he was an impostor, appears to me the much less probable opinion. To number three of the appendix to the sixth volume of Henry's history of Britain, I refer the reader for information on this obscure subject.

1492.

Alarmed by the intelligence of Warbeck's intention to make Ireland the first scene of his operations, and fearing the attachment of the Geraldines to the house of York, Henry changed the administration of the Pale, appointing Walter, archbishop of Dublin, lord deputy in the place of Kildare, and Sir John Ormond treasurer, a natural son of the late earl of Ormond who had gone a pilgrim to Jerusalem. The acts of a parliament, convened by Walter,

were

Dillemas.
ous.

were unfavourable to the Geraldine party, against whom hostilities were with fierceness renewed by the Butlers, whose head, the present earl of Ormond, was highly in favour with Henry, and employed as ambassador to the French court. In the mean time Warbeck, arriving without troops or retinue at Cork, where he was received with the honour due to a prince by the chief magistrate, sent letters to the earls of Kildare and Desmond, entreating their assistance. The latter declared openly in his favour: the designs of the former were not explicit, but suspected. The Pale, afflicted by a strange disorder called the sweating sickness, and other diseases in succession, together with famine, was filled with additional agitation on the expected commencement of a new revolt against the reigning monarch, when Warbeck suddenly departed from Ireland, invited to his court by the king of France.

1493

To learn from him the state of affairs in Ireland Henry summoned Walter to his presence: the statutes of a parliament held at Drogheda in his absence by Robert Preston, lord Gormanston, appointed deputy, were disputed by the Butlers on allegations of informality: Kildare, to vindicate his conduct, repaired to London: and the king at length saw the expediency, and found leisure from other business, to adopt new measures for the security of his interest in this country. The colony had now declined to its lowest ebb. The Pale, that portion of the island which acknowledged English law, and obedience to the civil magistrate, had shrunk into so narrow a compass as not to extend over more than the half

State of
the Pale.

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XIII.

half of the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Wexford, and Uriel called also Argial, comprehending Louth; and even within these limits the common people had adopted the Irish habit and language; while the rest of the country was possessed by about sixty septa of Irish, and some of degenerate English, dwelling independent of the royal dominion.

Poynings.
1494.

To reform and secure the Pale to the English crown, and thereby to lay a foundation for the recovery and extension of the English interest in Ireland, Sir Edward Poynings, appointed lord deputy, came attended by a band of a thousand soldiers, and by a number of English gentlemen nominated to the offices of lord chancellor, lord treasurer, and judges in civil and criminal causes. Having undertaken a military expedition against a northern toparch named O'Hanlon, and disgusted by the evasive and harassing modes of warfare practised by the Irish, he seemed glad of an honourable excuse for returning to the south, afforded by lord James, brother of Kildare, who had seized the castle of Carlow in defiance of the king's authority. This fortress was surrendered on terms to the deputy, and Kildare, who had attended him in his march to the north, was on a variety of charges arrested, and some time after sent prisoner to England. But the legislative, not the military, exertions of Poynings have rendered his administration celebrated in Irish history. In a parliament convened at Drogheda, on the Monday after the feast of Saint Andrew in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-five, several statutes were enacted of a permanent influence for the removal of abuses,

the

1495.

the prevention of the encreasing degeneracy of the colonists, the security of the royal prerogative, and the regulation of future parliaments.

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Among the many acts of this assembly I shall briefly observe that, to protect the subjects from baronial and military oppression, the exaction of *Coyne and livery* was totally interdicted ; in place thereof a tax was imposed, payable to the king for five years, of twenty-six shillings and eight pence on every six score of acres of arable land belonging to any proprietors, lay or ecclesiastical ; and the barons were forbidden to retain other followers than their household officers and menial servants, except the marchers who were necessarily allowed larger trains, but were obliged to certify the names and number of their attendants. The statutes of Kilkenny, which had been frequently revived, were with slight exceptions confirmed. The nomination of Sheriffs and other officers accountant was vested in the lord-treasurer, who was also empowered to act as governor on a vacancy of the lord-deputy's administration by death or sudden surrender. Several acts of preceding parliaments were annulled, particularly of that which had been held by Simnel. That places of strength should be committed to the charge of men only of English birth was a law of this assembly, and that the priory of Kilmainham should be held by no other than a man of that description.

Poyning's
acts.

Two acts of Poyning's parliament are particularly noticed by English writers. By one of these the statutes enacted lately in England were extended in the same force to Ireland ; a law neither new nor extraordinary,

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XIII.

extraordinary, as the same provision had been before made in the seventh year of Edward the fourth. The other, which was called emphatically Poynings' law, and which made an essential change in the Irish constitution, provided that no parliament should thenceforth be held in Ireland but at such season as, that the causes and considerations on account of which it should be convened, and the laws which might be deemed proper to be enacted by it, should be previously certified to the king under the great seal of Ireland by the king's lieutenant and council. By this act, extremely popular at first, because it gave the people a temporary relief from the exactions of rapacious governors, but unpopular in later times from a change of circumstances, no parliament could be held in Ireland without a formal certification of the governor and council of Ireland transmitted to the king and his council, and a formal remission of their approbation; and according to an explanation of it, made long after, in the reign of Mary, no bill, nor even heads of a bill, could be framed by the lords or commons of Ireland, but only by the Irish viceroy and privy council, who transmitted the bills to England to the king and privy council there, to be approved, altered, or rejected; while the Irish lords and commons had no further power, when a bill was remitted from England, altered or unaltered, than simply to accept or to reject it.

Attempt
of War-
beck.

Poynings, who had gained little honour by his military expedition into Ulster, was in danger of being again summoned to the field, for Warbeck, having

having been obliged to leave the court of France on its pacification with that of England, landed in Munster, where he was joined by the earl of Desmond with his forces, and advancing to Waterford, summoned that city to surrender. But the citizens, reinforced by the Butlers and other adherents of the Lancastrian party, made so vigorous a defence, that, finding his cause desperate in this country, the unfortunate adventurer retired to Scotland. This repulse was considered as an effect of Poynings' administration, who returned in triumph to his master, having broken for the present the power of the Geraldines, whose chief, the earl of Kildare, remained in prison as a criminal to abide his trial.

C H A P. XIV.

Depression and revival of the colony—Trial of Kildare—His administration—Feud of the Butlers—Battle of Knocktow—Accession of Henry the eighth—Death of Kildare—Administration of his son Gerald—Intrigues of Ormond—Government of Howard—Government of Ormond—Embassy of Mac-Gillapatrik—Second administration of Earl Gerald—Distractions—Third administration of Gerald—Rebellion of his son Thomas—Repulse of the rebels from Dublin—Arrival of succours—Hobblers, Kerns, and gallowglasses—Conquest of Maynooth—Surrendery and execution of lord Thomas—Escape of lord Gerald—Grey's administration—Battle of Bellahoe—Grey's execution—Submissions—Their inefficacy—Extension of the Pale.

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XIV.

Revival of
the colony.

THE interference of the English of Ireland in the war of the Roses, which brought the colony to its lowest ebb of weakness, was also perhaps the cause of a more early revival than might have otherwise been its lot. Two invasions of England from the Pale, the one in favour of the duke of York's claim, the other in that of Simnel's, and the desperate, though fruitless, valour of the Irish troops, against numbers and arms far superior, excited a spirit of enquiry and speculation concerning Irish affairs; and the apprehension of another attempt from that quarter in favour of Warbeck drew the attention of Henry towards Ireland, which had been so unwisely neglected by preceding monarchs. As from the Scottish invasion

invasion under Edward Bruce to the administration of Poynings, the English power in this island had gradually declined, through the space of a hundred and eighty years, to its lowest point of depression, so from the latter epocha we date the commencement of its reascension, whence it has, often very slowly, sometimes very irregularly, continued to encrease till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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An act of attainder had reduced to the lowest state of humiliation and disgrace the paramount family in Ireland, that of Gerald Fitzthomas, earl of Kildare, during whose tedious confinement in London his wife languished at home, and died at length from anxiety. When the earl was admitted to trial, and ordered by the king to provide counsel for his defence, he seized his Majesty's hand with an uncourtly familiarity, saying, "yea, the ablest in the realm: your Highness I take for my counsel against these false knaves." Henry, who, though in some respects a tyrant, wanted not sound sense and penetration, was not displeased by this rough compliment to his equity and discernment; nor was he unfavourably disposed by the artless behaviour of the culprit on his trial, who treated his accusers as if he were in Ireland and still their master. When he was charged with having sacrilegiously burned to the ground the church of Cashel in one of his lawless expeditions, he sternly replied, "spare your evidence; I did set fire to the church, because I thought the bishop was in it." When nothing was proved of a treasonable nature against the king's government, but only acts of feudal violence, the policy of Henry determined him

Trial of
Kildare.

1496.

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XIV.

not only to acquit the accused, but also to invest him with the office of chief governor, as he judged him a fit instrument for his purposes. Therefore when the accusers closed their charge with this declaration, "all Ireland cannot govern this earl;" the king replied, "well, then this earl shall govern all Ireland." By the interest of this baron, restored to his estates and honours, the earl of Desmond was pardoned, and all in Ireland who had favoured the cause of Warbeck, except Walter of Cork who had been the earliest in paying court to this personage, and lord Barry of Kinsale who had been remarkably zealous in his service. The former after long imprisonment was hanged at Tyburn with the unfortunate Warbeck: the latter, as an outlaw, was murdered by an unnatural brother.

Kildare's
administration.

The policy of the monarch was justified by the event. Kildare held the reins of the colonial government till his death in the year 1513, the space of seventeen years, overawing Irish chieftains, reducing to a peaceful demeanour Hibernicized English, and putting such plans in execution as served to secure, not to enlarge, the Pale, and to render the acknowledgement, not the established obedience, of the king's sovereignty more extensive. To untie the English interest an attempt of conciliation was made between the earl and Sir James Ormond, the Irish leader of the Butlers; but their interview in the cathedral of Dublin was disturbed by a riot of the citizens, who, offended at the too great number of armed men attending the knight, made an attack on his retinue; and though the tumult was quickly composed, the parties

parties separated with unmeaning expressions of respect and friendship, and undiminished animosity. The earl however formed a connexion with the family. He gave his sister in marriage to Piers Butler, who, according to the Irish customs, killed Sir James, and became in his place, head of the sept.

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Another matrimonial alliance of the earl was followed by a war which had considerable influence on the affairs of Ireland. Uliac Mac-William, of the De Burgo race, lord of Clanricard, and leader of a sept of degenerate English, having married a daughter of the earl, so incurred his resentment by disrespectful behaviour that arms alone could end the dispute.

Battle of
Knocktow.

The parties met at a place called Knocktow within a few miles of the city of Galway, on the nineteenth of August in the year 1504. On the side of Clanricard were the forces of Connaught, with the O'Briens of Thomond, and other toparchs of Munster. With the governor were the lords of the Pale, the O'Nials, and some other chieftains of the north. The English barons, when they saw the superior numbers of the enemy, would have proposed a retreat, if it could have been attempted with safety; but they were delivered from their danger by the arms and discipline of their men. Among the late improvements of the Pale was the revival of archery. The furious onset of Clanricard's troops was steadily received with a shower of well aimed arrows, which made so dreadful havoc that the victory was afterwards easily obtained. With little loss in the lord deputy's forces, above two thousand of the enemy were slain :

1504.

two

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two sons of Uliac, taken prisoners, were detained as hostages : and the Hibernicized septa of English in Munster and Connaught were subdued.

Henry the eighth.

After the accession of Henry the eighth in 1509, a young and vain glorious monarch, the dupe of foreign princes and foreign politics, little attention was given to Irish affairs by the English court ; so that on the decease of Kildare in 1513 the colony was in danger of relapsing into its former state of decline.

Earl Gerald's administration.

1517.

But Gerald, his son, the inheritor of his spirit as well as patrimony, elected governor by the council, and confirmed in his place by the king, quelled in a short time the alarming commotions raised by the enemies of English government, and convened a parliament, among whose statutes was the revival of a law against absentees, vesting two thirds of their Irish revenues in the king for the exigencies of the state. Of the numerous petty wars, which exercised the talents of this governor, one was excited by a foolish prophecy, that now had come the time for the restoration of the Irish dynasts to their ancient splendour. After the suppression of the insurgents, and the death of their leader O'Tool, whose head was brought to Dublin, the governor was assailed in a species of hostility for which his talents were ill adapted.

Ormond's intrigues.

Piers or Peter Butler, already mentioned, having by the death of Thomas, earl of Ormond, in England, obtained as next heir the title and chief place in this noble family, was instigated by his wife, herself a Geraldine, to attempt the supplanting of Kildare's authority, and thereby to recover the former consequence of the Butlers. Inferior in arms, he had recourse

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1520.

recourse to intrigue, and accused his rival of mal-administration to cardinal Wolsey, the king's great favourite, already prepossessed against Kildare, whose lofty spirit had not condescended to flatter the vanity of this arrogant prelate. Summoned into England to answer for his conduct, Kildare was fully acquitted, but was superseded in his government by the nomination of Thomas Howard earl of Surrey, to the lord-lieutenancy, who came into Ireland with an army of a thousand men, beside a personal guard of one hundred.

Howard's
administra-
tion.

During an administration of two years continuance Howard was almost incessantly engaged in military operations, whose detail would be perplexingly difficult without entertainment or instruction. His most vexatious contest was with the sept of O'Moore in the territory of Leix, the present Queen's county, where his personal safety was immediately endangered. His longer stay in Ireland might have been attended with permanent effects of an advantageous nature, as his conduct was meritorious, and his knowledge of the country accurate; but uneasy in his place, as being ill supplied from the English treasury, and required for the command of a useless expedition to France, he was recalled, greatly regretted by the discerning inhabitants of this unfortunate country, whose lot has almost always been to be deprived of such governors as were able and willing essentially to serve it, before they could with efficacy put their schemes in execution. As Howard, as well as the king, was by the enemies of Kildare possessed with unfavourable sentiments toward

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1520.
Mac-Gill-
lapatrick's
embassy.
1522.

ward that nobleman, his rival, Piers, earl of Ormond, was appointed lord-deputy.

The influence of this governor among the Irish toparchs was much inferior to that which had been exercised by Kildare. Of their notions of independence and monarchical importance an instance, which occurred in this administration, is recorded. Mac-Gillapatrick, lord of Ossory, called Fitzpatrick by the English, having received some offence from the governor, who was named among the Irish *Piers the Red*, dispatched his ambassadors to the king to demand satisfaction. This representative of majesty, with a solemnity of deportment suitable to the conceived importance of his office, accosted Henry, when he was going to prayers, at the door of his chapel, in these words—*Sta pedibus! Domine Rex! Dominus meus, Gillapatricius, me misit ad te, et jussit dicere, quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum, ipse faciet bellum contra te.* In what manner the vain and imperious monarch received this address, or what were its consequences, we are left in ignorance.

Earl Gerald again
governor.

Kildare, who had made a powerful connexion in England by his marriage with Elizabeth Grey daughter to the marquis of Dorset, had accompanied Henry to Calais, to an interview of empty and extravagant pomp with the king of France, and had afterwards returned to Ireland, became embroiled in a renovated feud with Ormond, one of whose favourite attendants was killed in a petty fray with a Geraldine. Mutual accusations, and a trial in Ireland before commissioners appointed by the English court, ended

ended in the triumph of Kildare, who was nominated successor to Ormond, much to the joy of some Irish chieftains, particularly Con O'Nial, who carried, as a friend of English government, the sword of state before the new deputy. But soon again was this deputy involved in accusations. Francis the first, the French monarch, being engaged in war against Henry, seduced the earl of Desmond into an alliance, and an obligation to take arms against the English government, a policy since pursued by the rulers of France with Irish people, to the present day, in their wars with England. Receiving command, on the discovery of this treason, to seize the culprit, the deputy marched in hostile array into the territory of Desmond; but suddenly turning northward, without the execution of his order, he marched to the assistance of his Irish kinsman O'Nial, against some toparchs of Ulster. He was now, on the accusation of a treasonable concert with the obnoxious baron, summoned into England, where after a long confinement his liberation was with difficulty procured by his English friends, who became bound for the security of his future allegiance.

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1524.

In this interval the distractions and weakness of the Pale were alarming, while the king's attention was directed to the continent. Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin, the lord-deputy, was made prisoner by O'Connor, toparch of Ofally; nor was his successor, Piers Butler, who bore for a time the title of earl of Ossory instead of Ormond, able to procure his enlargement. The administration of Butler was perplexed by the private intrigues of Kildare, a re-tribution

Gerald's
third admini-
stration.

1528.

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1532.

tribution for his own former conduct against the Geraldine interest. By similar practices, the succeeding deputy, Sir William Skeffington, was embarrassed; and, on his removal, Kildare filled his place in the plenitude of power, apparently freed from all restraint by the disgrace of his enemy, the cardinal, and his repeated triumphs over his accusers. But the abuse of his prosperity proved his destruction. Attended by bands of armed rabble implicitly prepared to execute his orders, he acted, regardless of English law, with a violence tending to the ruin of the English interest in Ireland.

Address
to the king.

Justly alarmed, the impartial friends of English government united with the Butlers and other enemies of Kildare, to transmit to the king, through the master of the Rolls, a representation of the grievances and dangers of the Pale. In the various matter of this address is a complaint against the too frequent change of governors; the enormous jurisdictions granted to barons; the banishment of English freeholders by intolerable exactions; and the introduction of an Irish rabble into their places, at once the fittest objects and instruments of oppression; and the degraded condition of the colony, in which the English laws, manners, habit, and language, were confined within the narrow compass of twenty miles.

Geraldine
rebellion.

1534.

Kildare was commanded to leave the reins of government in the hands of some person for whose conduct he should be responsible, and to repair immediately to the king. Having in vain exerted his utmost interest to evade this order, and reduced to
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the alternative of obedience or open rebellion, he resolved on the former, leaving the administration to his son Thomas, and, contrary to the royal mandate, supplying his castles with arms and ammunition from the king's stores for defence against the apprehended retaliations of his enemies. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, a youth of a captivating person and endowments, but possessed of too high a notion of the power and consequence of his family, and rash from inexperience, being scarcely twenty-one years of age, was misled by false news of his father's execution in England, whence enflamed with resentment, he raised, with the advice of his Irish associates, the standard of rebellion.

Entering the affrighted council assembled in Saint-Mary's abbey in the capital, at the head of a hundred and forty armed men, he resigned his office of deputy, and declared himself the enemy of the English monarch. When Cromer the chancellor, primate of Armagh, seizing the youth by the hand, pathetically represented to him the vanity and rueful consequences of such an attempt, his followers, ignorant of the English tongue, imagined the prelate's oration to be an encomium on their hero and his enterprise : and a bard in his train, unwilling to be surpassed in his particular province, chaunted in Irish rhymes, according to the ancient custom of the country, the praises of the young leader, whom he styled the *filken lord* from his rich habiliments, chiding the delay of his martial exploits, and emphatically calling him to the field of glory. Whatever impression might have been made by the sage admonition

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dition of the primate was effaced by the senseless rhapsody of an ignorant rhymers. Lord Thomas collected his forces, and laid siege to the castle of Dublin. From this fortress Alan, the archbishop, attempted an escape to England; but the vessel, in which he had embarked, stranded near Clontarf, perhaps by design of the pilot who was one of the Fitzgeralds; and this unhappy prelate, an opponent of Kildare, was murdered, not by the direct orders, perhaps not according to the wish of the revolted lord,

Receiving to his proposal of a coalition with the Butlers an answer of defiance, lord Thomas invaded their territories, defeated their troops, and ravaged their lands; but he was alarmed by the movements of the Dublinians, who, having received assurance of assistance from England, closed their gates against his adherents, and made prisoners of those who were besieging the castle. Dublin was assailed, but the assailants were all repulsed; and an agreement was at length made for the raising of the siege, and the liberation of the prisoners on both sides.

The next attempt of the insurgents was to prevent the debarkation of troops from England. A detachment, which landed on the northern side of the harbour, was defeated, and all the men either killed or taken prisoners by lord Thomas, who was wounded by the commander in a brave defence. The rebels now planted their artillery on the promontory of Howth, and thundered on the vessels at anchor, and on others advancing with fresh supplies; for gunpowder had been long invented, and cannons were in

in use clumsily managed ; but small guns, as being only fired with matches, were not so serviceable as the bow and arrow for general purposes, and were as yet carried only by a few for the annoyance of men-at-arms, as no armour could resist their force. In Ireland men-at-arms, or heavy-armed horsemen, were at that time few. The cavalry were of the light species called *hoblers*, from *hobby*, a name for a horse. The infantry consisted of *kerns* and *gallowglasses*. The former were light troops, armed with swords and javelins, and generally so irregular that kern and robber were sometimes synonymous. The gallowglasses were heavy-armed infantry, bearing an iron helmet, a shirt, or long coat of mail, which descended to the calves of the legs, a long sword, and a ponderous double-edged axe.

Though a ship laden with horses was taken, and the rest were obliged to retire from the cannonade, Sir William Brereton effected his landing on the opposite shore with five hundred men, and was followed by the new deputy, Sir William Skeffington, with another band. By the noise of rejoicing, which announced the arrival of these succours in the city, the revolted lord thought himself admonished to retreat ; and either by the severity of the ensuing winter, or an agreement with Skeffington for a suspension of arms, he remained inactive during some time in the west.

Hostilities recommenced in the spring, when the strong castle of Maynooth was taken from the rebels by the treachery of Pareis, a foster-brother of lord Thomas, who having made no further stipulation than

1535.

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than for a pecuniary recompence, was first with punctuality paid his price, and then hanged by Skeffington. The news of this conquest had such an effect on the forces of the revolted nobleman, who was advancing at the head of seven thousand Irish from Ulster and Connaught, that many deserted, and the rest, when they came to encounter the English army near Naas, fled at the first discharge of the royal artillery. Previously to this rout, a hundred and forty of the enemy's gallowglasses had been intercepted by the lord deputy, by whose orders, after their surrendry, they were all put to death. Fitzgerald, unable any longer to keep the field, and maintaining only a war of desultory skirmishes, retired into Munster, whither he was followed by a body of hostile troops under his relative, lord Leonard Grey, who, unwilling to run unnecessary risks, proposed a treaty of submission, which was accepted by the rebel commander.

On a solemn covenant for pardon lord Thomas dismissed his troops, attended lord Grey to Dublin, and was sent a prisoner to the tower of London, where he learned that his father had not been executed, but had died of a broken heart in consequence of his rebellion. His five uncles, three of whom had opposed the insurrection, were treacherously invited to a banquet by lord Grey, now appointed deputy, seized and sent to London, where they were all executed together with their nephew. The vengeance of Henry, who was completely a tyrant, could be satisfied only by the extirpation of the Kildare family, one alone of whom, a brother
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of lord Thomas, a boy of twelve years, escaped by the vigilance of his guardians and an aunt, who conveyed him into France, and thence into the Netherlands, when he was demanded as a rebel subject, and thence lastly to cardinal Pole, who preserved him in defiance of the cruel monarch, to regain the honours of his noble race.

The suppression of this rash, unconcerted, and unsupported rebellion, seemed to be regarded as a new conquest of Ireland by Henry, who proposed as a question whether he had not a right to seize as confiscated all the estates of the kingdom both spiritual and temporal, though the greater part of his English subjects in the Pale had assisted the royal cause. The vanity of the proposal might in the attempt have appeared not less manifest than its injustice. The royal authority was doubtless encreasing. By an act of parliament the *black rent* was abolished, and the king's forces declared sufficient for the protection of his subjects; but we find pensions continued to Irish toparchs under other pretences, particularly to Mac-Murchad or Mac-Murrough of Leinster, who was constituted governor of the king's castle at Ferns. The lord-deputy was embarrassed by the faction of the Butlers, now the paramount family; and the emissaries of the pope, with whom Henry had come to an open rupture, were labouring to excite the Irish lords against the English government. The Butlers, who from unwillingness, to bear a superior, had secretly opposed the deputy, and whose lands had been in consequence exposed to military execution, were confronted with him before the council, whence

Grey's administration.

1536.

the

CHAP. XIV. the parties retired with professed reconciliation and real enmity. His contest with the Irish toparchs was more decisive. By pretended prophecies, and other engines of superstition, the northern septa were seduced into a confederacy headed by O'Nial, who was proud of being declared the champion of the pope, and of reassuming the ancient importance of his family.

Battle of
Bellahoe.
1539.

Rushing into Meath, and advancing within eighteen miles of Dublin, to the hill of Tarah, where it was triumphantly reviewed by its commander, the army of O'Nial retired with its booty before the approach of the lord-deputy's forces. These made a vigorous pursuit, and overtook a part of the enemy's army at a place called Bellahoe, on the borders of Meath, formidably posted with a river in front. The eminent courage of lord Grey and his associates, put severely to trial in the passage of the stream, and by the obstinate resistance of the foe, was rewarded with victory. The flying troops communicated their panic to the main body, which fled and dispersed with such a celerity, that only four hundred of the vanquished were slain in a battle and pursuit continued till the darkness of night; a battle which left a lasting impression of dismay on the minds of the northern Irish. Of this impression a symptom was soon exhibited; for on the recall of Grey to England, which happened immediately after this victory in 1539, the northerns, forming a league with Murrough O'Brien of Thomond, collected their forces on the western side of Meath, and prepared for a furious irruption; but on the approach of Sir

William

William Brereton, who marched rapidly with far inferior numbers to attack them, they dispersed without a battle, flying into the woods and other fastnesses with the utmost precipitation.

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The great and important services of Grey, performed in some cases with a zeal carried beyond the limits of justice and honour, received such a reward as might be expected from the ingratitude of a tyrant. Pursued by the enmity of the Butlers and the zealots of the church, who were enraged at his activity in the promotion of the king's views in respect of religion, he was committed to the tower of London on a variety of groundless and frivolous charges. Though valiant in the field, he was destitute of the kind of courage required on this occasion. Possessed of the most horrid apprehensions of the violence and rigour of the king, he declined a trial; and, resigning his life and honour to the discretion of a merciless despot, pleaded guilty, and was beheaded.

Death of
Grey.

Meanwhile the government, now become formidable by the vigorous conduct of Grey, was reaping the fruits of his administration. Submission became so general among the toparchs, that Sir Anthony Saint-Leger, the new deputy, was busied in receiving their professions of obedience. The earl of Desmond, whose boasted privileges were to be exempt from attendance on parliaments, on governors, and from entering into any fortified town, renounced these imaginary rights, together with the supremacy of the pope, and gave his favourite son as a hostage to receive English education. To forward still more

Submission
of toparchs.

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XIV.

1541. this disposition among the Irish, the title of *King of Ireland*, instead of *Lord*, was conferred in 1541, on the English monarch by the Irish parliament. Doubtless the novelty and splendour of the title had considerable influence, but causes not explained must have had still greater, in producing an emulation for expressions of loyalty among the ancient natives and Hibernicized English, several of whose dynasts received from the king titles of nobility, particularly the three following, who renewed their submissions to his Majesty in London, O'Nial, Murrough O'Brien, and Uliac de Burgo called also Mac-William; the first
1542. of whom was created earl of Tyr-owen or Tyrone; the second earl of Clanricard and baron of Dunkellin; and the third earl of Thomond and baron of Inchiquin.

Inefficacy. Much doubtless was done toward the melioration of Ireland, yet far less of a solid or permanent efficacy than of a specious appearance. In those districts of Munster and Connaught, which had been colonized by English and formed into counties, but in which the laws of England had been in disuse for two centuries, some regulations were ordered to be observed, of a mixed nature between English law and Irish custom, for the gradual reformation of the inhabitants; but these regulations lay totally dormant, as no justice dared to attempt the execution of his commission in those wild countries. The dynasts, who had received English titles of nobility, were bound to hold their lands by military tenure in the feudal mode of England; but ignorant or regardless of such a system, they conceived not any diminution

diminution or alteration of their power over their vassals to arise from their new dignities, and they continued to govern by the broken law as formerly. For the extension of English government the reception of inferior toparchs, independently of their superiors, under the royal protection would have been necessary; but so liberal a policy was not as yet consistent with the views of those who had the chief influence in Ireland; insomuch that the petitions of some septs to be admitted into the English jurisdiction as subjects of the king, particularly that of the O'Byrnes, who requested that their territory should be converted into an English county under the name of Wicklow, were neglected or denied. All that was thought proper to be done of this nature was the division of Meath into two counties, the eastern and western.

A noble opportunity for the establishment of English government throughout this island was thus relinquished by this monarch, who, like too many of his predecessors, wasted the blood and treasure of his subjects in fruitless wars with France. A quarrel of the lord-deputy with the Butlers terminated with the life of the earl of Ormond, who, with sixteen of his retinue was poisoned at a feast at Ely house, by means unknown. On the death of Henry, and the accession of his son, Edward the sixth, a boy of nine years, in 1547, O'Moore and O'Connor, the toparchs of Leix and O'fally, took arms and spread alarm through the province of Leinster; but on the arrival of Sir Edward Bellingham, with six hundred horse and four hundred infantry from Eng-
land

Extension
of the Pale.

1546.

1547

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XIV.

land, they were defeated and sent prisoners to London, where the former died. Their territories, castellated and colonized by Bellingham, formed a large accession to the Pale, the first which it had received for several ages past. Among the numerous operations of this active governor was an expedition into Munster for the surprizal of the earl of Desmond in his own house, who was relapsing into his former mode of life, and who by conciliatory means was now by Bellingham induced to reside in Dublin as an English nobleman. The cabals of his enemies caused the recall of Sir Edward; and, after the successive administrations of two other deputies, the re-appointment of Sir Anthony Saint-Leger was thought expedient, as an introduction of important changes in religion was determined, to which a formidable opposition was expected.

1550.

C H A P.

C H A P. XV.

Reformation of religion—began in Germany—Luther—Henry the eighth's apostacy—Attempts to convert the Irish—Further attempts—First reading of the new liturgy—Dowdal—Disturbances—Mary's accession—Restoration of popery—Political transactions—O'Nial's turbulence—His defeat—Contests in Thomond—Reduction of Scottish rovers—Elizabeth's accession—A parliament convened by Suffex—O'Nial's operations—Repulse at Derry—Explosion of the magazine—Ravages—Plan of Sir Henry Sidney—His success—O'Nial's refuge with the Scots—His assassination.

RELIGION, which has everywhere so close a connexion with civil government, is in a more than ordinary manner interwoven with the history and politics of Ireland since the latter part of Henry the eighth's reign. Germany was the country which had the fortune of producing the most formidable opponents of the long and firmly established power of the Roman pontiff. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, the preaching of some Bohemian divines, particularly John Hufs and Jerome of Prague, withdrew from the Romish communion great numbers of the Bohemians and others, who, in consequence of persecution rose in arms, and, under the conduct of the celebrated Zisca, gave repeated overthrows to the forces of the German emperor :

CHAR.
XV.

Reforma-
tion.

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XV.

peror : nor even after the death of that much dreaded leader were they overcome without much bloodshed, nor so entirely reduced but that some indulgence was allowed to their religious scruples ; for, those of them, who agreed to conform in all other respects to the usages of the Roman catholic church, were indulged in participation of the cup as well as the bread in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, contrary to the practice of that church. After the commencement of the following century, in a more favourable concurrence of circumstances, when, by the invention of printing, literature was much more generally diffused, an attack was made on the jurisdiction of the Roman see attended with vastly more extensive and permanent success.

Luther.

In the year 1517, Martin Luther, a friar of the Augustinian order, and professor of theology in the Saxon university of Wittenburg, a man of a firm and bold spirit, well fitted for so arduous an attempt, called in question the plenitude of the papal power with respect to the granting of indulgences, or pardons for sins in consideration of sums of money ; and, being irritated by the imperious and uncandid treatment received from the Roman court, proceeded at length to attack the church of Rome in her vital parts, and to shake the firmest foundations on which her power and wealth were established. His opinions were adopted by great numbers of Germans, who, when a diet of the empire, assembled at Spires in 1529, issued a decree unfavourable to them, entered a solemn protest against it, and thence received the appellation of *Protestants*, an appellation which has since become better known and more honourable
by

by its being applied indifferently to all the sects, of whatever denomination, which have revolted from the Roman see. CHAP. XV.

No country of Europe was more ignominiously intralled by the spiritual government of Rome than England, till Henry the eighth burst the bonds, an unfeeling tyrant, how highly soever his merit in this may be appreciated. For many years a violent partizan for pontifical pretensions, he became even a polemical writer against Luther's doctrines, and published a book *De Septem Sacramentis*, on account of which the pope, to whom it was presented in 1521, conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*. But when his Holiness refused him a divorce from his first queen, Catherine of Arragon, he disclaimed the sovereignty of the sovereign pontiff, and, with the concurrence of his parliament, declared himself supreme head of the church of England: yet, while he renounced the successor of Saint Peter, he was extremely tenacious of all the corruptions which had been introduced into Christianity by the sovereign prelates; insomuch that, though he consigned to the hangman those who still admitted the Roman supremacy, he also committed alive to the flames those who presumed to receive the doctrines of the reformed preachers. Henry's
supremacy.

Successful in England, where he reigned as a despot, Henry attempted to extend his religious innovations into Ireland, than which no soil could be more sterile for the seeds of reformation. Since the council of Cashel in 1172, the Irish church had remained in conformity with that of England, consequently Attempts
to convert
the Irish.

CHAP.
XV.

sequently with that of Rome. The miserable anarchy and confusion, the deplorable ignorance and barbarism of the Irish of those times, precluded all rational discussion, and consequently all reformation of religion by force of argument, or explanation of the scriptures; while the bulk of the people were naturally prejudiced against innovations dictated from England, whose inhabitants they regarded as their enemies; besides that an opinion had taken deep root among them, that Ireland was a patrimony of the pope, and that consequently the English monarch, whose predecessors had originally claimed no other right to the dominion of this island than what was derived from the papal authority, was in the renunciation of the Roman supremacy guilty of nefarious rebellion against his spiritual sovereign, in which to afford him assistance, or even countenance, would be an impiety.

George Browne, provincial of the friars of Saint Augustine, a man of sincerity, simple manners, and liberality of religious opinions, was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, and sent with other commissioners into Ireland, to procure by conferring with the clergy and nobility a general acknowledgment of the supremacy of the king. Violently opposed, especially by Cromer, primate of Armagh, an Englishman by birth, who had been superseded in the office of chancellor, and was attached to the almost exterminated family of Kildare, Browne recommended the summoning of a parliament, which was accordingly convened in Dublin by lord Leonard

nard Grey, on the first of May, in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-six. In this parliament, in which the law of Poynings for previous certification was suspended by the king's assent, and in which the ecclesiastical proctors, of whom two from each diocese had usually sitted in parliamentary conventions, were excluded from suffrage, the supremacy of the king over the church of Ireland, with the renunciation of the pope's authority, was, notwithstanding a strenuous opposition, passed into a law, together with other acts in union with those of the English parliament.

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1550,

When the enactment of the law could not be prevented, every engine was employed to counteract its operation. Cromer and his associates received a commission from Rome to absolve all persons from their oaths in favour of the king's supremacy, and to command them to confess the guilt of such oaths within forty days, and to enter into a new and most solemn engagement for the support of the papal power against all opponents. Many incumbents within the Pale, particularly in the diocese of Dublin, resigned their benefices; and the Irish lords of Ulster, under the conduct of O'Nial, rose in arms as the champions of the Holy Faith. But the victory of Grey at Bellahoe broke the spirits of the northerns, and the operations of Brereton completed the despondency of the papal warriors. Numbers of monasteries were resigned into the king's hands, and the Irish lords appeared emulous in the taking of oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

The

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XV.Further
attempts.

1550.

The persons invested with the administration of English government in the minority of Edward the sixth, wishing to carry the scheme of reformation much beyond the limits prescribed by Henry, in Ireland as well as England, committed the management of the business to Sir Anthony Saint-Leger, who was appointed lord-deputy in 1550. Without the convention of a parliament, the royal proclamation was addressed to the clergy, enjoining the acceptance of the new liturgy in the English tongue, which, previously to its promulgation, was submitted to the inspection of an ecclesiastical assembly. John Dowdal, a native of Ireland, who had been promoted by Henry to the primacy of Armagh, vehemently opposed the innovation, and retired from the assembly, accompanied by most of his suffragan; after which archbishop Browne declared his acceptance; other prelates assented; and the new liturgy was read on Easter-day, in the year 1551, in the cathedral of Christ's Church in Dublin, in the presence of the lord-deputy, magistrates and clergy. The enmity of the Irish, thus encouraged by Dowdal, against the reformation, was augmented by the conduct of the commissioners appointed for the removal of relics, and other objects of popular superstition from places of divine worship, who are said to have plundered and exposed to sale, without reserve or decency, the most valuable furniture of the churches, furniture which they were not authorized by their commissions to remove.

In consequence of Dowdal's refractory conduct the primatial dignity was by royal patent transferred from

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from the see of Armagh to that of Dublin. From wounded pride, or fear of severer treatment, this prelate retired to the continent, abandoning his diocese, which, as if abdicated, was conferred on another named Goodacre. At the same time John Bale, was promoted to the see of Ossory, a man deeply learned comparatively with his brethren in the Irish church, of a vehement and imperious temper, and so furious an oppugner of popery, that his life was in perpetual danger from ignorant zealots, and he at one time very narrowly escaped, when five of his domestics were butchered by the populace. Such outrages are signs of insufficient vigour in administration, which might at this time, as appears by documents extant, have established the English law throughout all Ireland; but the English regency, embarrassed by the intrigues of wicked men, was unable to spare an adequate force to the support of Irish government for so salutary a purpose.

This inability was unfortunate for the peace of Ireland, many septs of which were disturbed by their absurd customs of succession, customs which had infected the Hibernicized English. Thus on the decease of the earl of Clanricard, his followers elected a captain of their sept in opposition to the legal heir, who was obliged to assert his right by force of arms. The baron of Ibracken, who succeeded his father in the earldom of Thomond, was forced to nominate a tainist according to ancient usage. O'Nial, who had been created earl of Tyrone, resolving to break his connexion with the English government, practised

Disturb-
ances.

1553.

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tified secretly for the exclusion of his illegitimate son Mathew, who had been declared under the title of baron of Dungannon, his legal heir at his own request. Informed by Mathew of his father's designs, Sir James Crofts, the successor of Saintleger, committed the earl and his countess, his instigatrix, to close custody in Dublin. John or Shane, a son of the earl, collecting an army, partly composed of Scottish adventurers, invaded his father's territories, defeated the united forces of his brother Mathew and the lord-deputy, and foiled the repeated attempts which were afterwards made to dispossess him.

Mary's
accession.
1553.

The death of the amiable Edward the sixth, and the accession of Mary, a stupid and sanguinary bigot in favour of popery, eldest daughter of Henry the eighth, in the year 1553, annihilated in Ireland whatever had been effected for the reformation of religion. Bale and other obnoxious churchmen fled; those who had married were ejected, and their children declared bastards; and a parliament, convened in 1556, confirmed the restoration of the church to its former state, except that the lands, which had been alienated to laymen, were withheld. No further severities were authorized here against heretics in the short reign of Mary, so that, while England was afflicted by the persecutions of that female demon, a disgrace to her sex and to human nature, Ireland proved an asylum to such as fled hither from the rage of bigotry. These refugees, however, seem to have been in danger of the flames. For the purpose of persecution Cole,
dean

dean of Saint Paul's, is on good grounds said to have been sent; to have found, when he attempted to produce his commission in the council in Dublin, only a pack of cards which had been substituted by the dexterity of his hostess in Chester, a friend of the heretics; and to have been prevented from the reception of a renewed commission by the death of Mary.

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Among the political transactions of this reign, we may observe that young Gerald, the survivor of the noble family of Kildare, who had married an English lady, the daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, was restored to the honours and estates of his ancestors. A mixture of the English and Irish systems appears in the patent of Charles Cavenagh, head of the Mac-Murchad sept in Leinster, who was at once created a peer of the realm under the title of baron Balyan, and captain of his clan for the exercise of the Irish jurisdiction over his followers. An insurrection in Leix and Ofally was quelled with such execution as to threaten the extirpation of their inhabitants. These districts were by act of parliament for ever vested in the crown, and converted into shires. Leix, in compliment to the queen, was named Queen's County, and its principal fortress Maryborough. With like attention to her consort, Philip the second of Spain, Ofally was called King's County, and its chief post Philipstown. By this parliamentary convention was enacted the explanation of the famous act of Poynings, already stated in the thirteenth chapter, for the restriction of Irish parliaments in the passing of laws.

Political
transac-
tions.

1557.

By

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XV.O'Nial's
turbulence.

By the weakness of administration was John O'Nial permitted to embroil the North in defiance of regulations made by English government. Having freed himself from the incumbrance of a rival by the assassination of his brother Mathew, baron of Dungannon, he invaded Tyrconnel with a host of his followers. To this he was invited by domestic dissension in the O'Donnel family, one of whom, named Calvagh, held his father, the dynast of Tyrconnel, in prison; and another son, named Hugh, took refuge with O'Nial. The inhabitants of the invaded country, secreting their best effects, and driving their cattle into the least accessible places, declined an open battle by the advice of the old chief, and attacked the enemy's camp by surprise at midnight. The whole army of Tyrone was dispersed with terrible slaughter, and O'Nial himself escaped not without difficulty. We have an instance on this occasion of Irish notions respecting hospitality resembling those of the ancient and modern Arabs. Two spies of O'Donnel, sent into the enemy's camp previously to the attack, were so clearly unsuspected that the guards invited them to partake of their supper. The invitation was declined, as the acceptance of it would have formed an inviolable bond of friendship between the entertainers and guests, and consequently would have prevented the conveyance of hostile intelligence.

Contests in
Thomond.
1588.

In the contests of the southern Irish the interference of administration was attended with some effect. Daniel O'Brien, having slain his brother, the baron of Ibracken, and attempted to establish himself in the sovereignty

sovereignty of Thomond, was defeated by Thomas, earl of Suffex, the lord lieutenant, who invested with the earldom the rightful heir, the son of the deceased baron, as a peer of the realm, and subject of the crown, according to English law. At this time also a body of Scots from the Hebude islands, who, by engaging in the service of Irish chieftains, had for some years past caused much disturbance in the northern parts, and given frequent employment to the English arms, were completely suppressed. On the dispersion of O'Nial's forces, of which they composed a part, by their defeat in Tyrconnel, these adventurers sought employment in the west, where they were suddenly attacked by the earl of Clanricard, defeated, and pursued almost to extermination; and Suffex, in revenge for their hostilities in Ireland, made a ravaging descent on the Scottish isles.

After the decease of Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth, her sister, in 1558, the restoration by law of the reformed modes of worship was the cause or pretext of new commotions. For this purpose a parliament was convened by the earl of Suffex in January 1560, in which the house of commons was composed of deputies from ten counties only, and from towns in which the royal power was predominant. Though the laws required were enacted by this parliament, among which was one for the total abolition of the election of bishops by deans and chapters by virtue of a writ styled *congé d'elire*, and the investing of the crown with their nomination by letters

Elizabeth's
accession.

1558.

1560.

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ters patent alone, yet so violent was the opposition to religious innovation, particularly by the temporal peers, that the session was soon closed by a dissolution. More effectual opposition was made to the execution than the enactment of these laws, which were in most places counteracted or evaded. Many recusant clergymen abandoned their churches, which, remaining unsupplied by reformed pastors, fell into ruin; and the people were left destitute of public worship. Prayers and sermons in English were unintelligible except to a few; and clergymen, masters of the Irish tongue, were not readily found for officiating in the protestant manner.

Reforma-
tion oppos-
ed.

Notwithstanding these and other obstacles, the indifference of the Irish catholics of those times concerning speculative opinions, to the discussion of which they were strangers, was such, that, since many of their clergy recommend submission to their temporal sovereign, they might have acquiesced in the new ecclesiastical establishment, if numerous emissaries of the Roman court, assiduously instructed, and successively sent from Italy and the Spanish dominions for that purpose, had not most industriously infused into their minds the poison of religious rancour, and a consequent detestation of the heretical government of the English; principles of malignity, which contributed to the calamities of Ireland in this reign, and afterwards exploded with rueful destruction in the reign of the unfortunate Charles the first.

O'Nial's
operations.

Ireland at the end of Mary's and the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was in a state of comparative quiet, notwithstanding

notwithstanding local tumults in various parts. John O'Nial was the first who gave any serious alarm to the Irish regency of the latter. This dynast is represented as a man abandoned to brutal excesses, indulging in sottish ebriety, and frequently burying himself to the neck in earth to correct the heat and intemperature of his body. But, as Leland remarks, whatever was the rudeness of his manners, he was cautious, circumspect, and acute. Summoned to account for his conduct by Sir Henry Sidney, the deputy of Suffex, who was then at court, in 1559, he had the address to prevail on this gentleman to visit him in his camp, to stand sponsor for his child, and to acquiesce in the defence which he made for actions discordant with the plan of English government. Claiming the ancient right of his family to the dominion of Ulster, he obliged O'Reily, a neighbouring toparch, to give hostages for his obedience; and, suddenly rushing into Tyrconnel, made his old enemy, Calvagh, a captive, whom he afterwards liberated, having plundered his possessions, detained his son as a hostage, and his wife as a concubine. To gain the confidence of the old natives he expressed such rancour against the English, that he hanged one of his followers for the eating of English biscuit, as a crime of degeneracy.—Suffex marched against him with what forces he could muster, but an accommodation was effected by the interposition of the earl of Kildare.

In consequence of this accommodation he waited on the queen in London, attended by a numerous train,

1562.

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“ a guard

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“ a guard of Gallowglasses,” in the words of Leland, “ arrayed in the richest habiliments of their country, armed with the battleax, their heads bare, their hair flowing on their shoulders, their linen vests dyed with saffron, with long and open sleeves, and surcharged with their short military harness ; a spectacle astonishing to the people, who imagined that they beheld the inhabitants of some distant quarter of the globe.” On his return to Ireland, after his gracious reception by her Majesty, he found his consequence augmented among his followers, who considered this accommodation as a treaty between two sovereigns. Affecting zeal for the queen’s service, he attacked some bands of Hebudian Scots, who had swarmed afresh into Ulster, defeated them, and slew their leader : but as he continued, under pretence of the Scottish hostilities to augment and train his forces, government was alarmed ; and when he perceived that his designs were no longer concealable, he hesitated not at open war.

Appearing in a bravado before the fortresses of Derry, his army was repelled with slaughter by a sally of the garrison, in which, however, Randolph, the governor, fell a victim of his own incaution. Finding afterwards that this fortress was abandoned in consequence of the magazine’s destruction by an accidental explosion, which was regarded by the ignorant natives as a pious act of supernatural interposition, he declined an interview, which himself had proposed for pacification with Sir Henry Sidney, the lord-deputy, and attacked the Pale with all his forces.

Affecting

Affecting to be the champion of the catholic faith, of which he knew nothing, he dispatched amassadors to the Pope and king of Spain for assistance, and burned the church of Armagh where heretical worship had been performed. While he demolished several castles, and ravaged some districts, particularly Fermanagh, he attempted to amuse the deputy by negotiation, and again requested and declined a conference; but he was disgracefully repulsed in an attempt on Dundalk, and on the approach of Sidney's army retired to his fastnesses. 1566.

The lord-deputy taking his station with an army on O'Nial's borders, and engaging Calvagh of Tyrconnel, Macguire of Fermanagh, and other Irish chiefs, in the royal cause, assailed him on all sides with such success, that he was deserted by most of his followers, and came to the resolution of surrendering at discretion. From this he was diverted by his secretary, who advised him rather to take refuge with a body of Scots encamped at Clan-huboy. By the artful management of an English officer, named Piers O'Nial, who with fifty attendants, and his female companion, the wife of Calvagh, was hospitably entertained in the tent of the Scottish commander, was at the end of the feast assassinated with his followers. His head was sent to Dublin by Piers, who received a thousand marks as the reward of this service. Turlogh Lynnough O'Nial, a man of a peaceful disposition, related by consanguinity to the noble family of Kildare, was nominated successor to John, but bound by indenture to claim no sovereignty. 1567.

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reignty over the neighbouring lords, and to leave the sons of Mathew, baron of Dungannon, in the unmolested possession of their demesnes. To prevent opposition to this arrangement, a son of John, formerly delivered as a hostage, was detained in close confinement in the castle of Dublin.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVI.

Feuds of Desmond, &c.—A parliament—Unexecuted regulations—Broils in Munster—Abortive plantations—Suppression of commotions—Incident of Drury—Financial discontents—Dangers of invasion from Italy and Spain—Stukely's plan—Fitzmaurice's invasion—Atrocity of Sir John Desmond—Progress of the rebellion—Battle of Monaster-Neva—Rebellion of Desmond—Distress—Slaughter at Glendalough—Another invasion—Horrible act of slaughter—Further transactions—Information of a conspiracy—Deaths of Sir John of Desmond and Saunders—Death of the earl of Desmond—Appointment of Perrot.

WHILE the chief attention of government was directed to the motions of O'Nial in Ulster, disturbances of less moment had elsewhere taken place. Gerald, earl of Desmond, in attempting to wrest some lands by force of arms from the earl of Ormond, was defeated, wounded, and made prisoner. When he was carried on a bier from the field of battle, his supporters triumphantly exclaimed "where is now the great lord of Desmond?" to which he indignantly replied, "where but in his proper place? still on the necks of the Butlers." The dispute was determined by the judgment of the queen, and Desmond was dismissed on his promise of obedience. "As to the furtherance of religion in Munster," he engaged among

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Feuds of
Desmond,
&c.

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among other stipulations, “ that *having no knowledge in learning, and being ignorant of what was to be done in this behalf*, he would aid and maintain whatever should be appointed by commissioners nominated for this purpose.” Afterwards, refusing to make reparation to Ormond, he was seized by surprise by Sir Henry Sidney, the governor, and sent to London, where he and his brother John confined in the tower, were confirmed in a rancour against English government, which ended only with their lives. In the midst of armed broils, in which were engaged Sir Edmund Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond, James Fitzmaurice of Desmond, and Mac-Carthy More, the head of his clan, who had been created earl of Clancarthy, a parliament was convened for the civil and religious reformation of the kingdom.

A parlia-
ment.

By the enemies of both kinds of reformation were the proceedings of this parliament violently opposed; nor without great exertions for the elections of its friends could the court procure a majority in the house of commons. Among other acts obtained, after a suspension of Poynings’ law, was one which commanded, that no person should assume the name or authority of chieftain of his country, in any territory now made, or afterwards to be made, shire-ground, otherwise than by letters patent from the crown; also one by which the chief governor and council were empowered to grant letters patent, whereby all Irish, or Hibernicized English, disposed to surrender their lands, might be again invested with them in the mode of English tenure; also another whereby the governor was authorized to present to the ecclesiastical

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cal dignities of Munster and Connaught for ten years, in consequence of the abuses observed in these provinces “in admitting unworthy persons to ecclesiastical dignities without lawfulness of birth, learning, English habit or English language, descended of unchaste and unmarried abbots, priors, deans, and chaunters, and obtaining their dignities by force, simony, or other corrupt means.”

In pursuance of such acts several arrangements were made, whose efficacy was prevented by the disturbances of the country. Thus Connaught was divided into counties, but no justices of assize were sent into that province; and Sir Edward Fitton, stationed there as lord president, governed in a mode of administration partly military, partly civil: and though the lands of Ulster were declared forfeited to the crown, yet the ancient natives continued to possess them without duty or acknowledgement; so that even the abbey lands and houses were held by the Romish clergy, and the bishopricks of Clogher, Derry, and Raphoe, were still granted by the pope without control.

Unexecuted regulations.

The broils of the south continued and encreased. Sir Edmund Butler, in the absence of his brother, the earl, in England, refused obedience to administration, and resisted with arms the legal claims of Sir Peter Carew on some lands. Philip the second of Spain fomented rebellion by his emissaries, and promised assistance. James Fitzmaurice irritated by the imprisonment of his brother, the earl of Desmond, rose with all his force, as a champion of the church, against the heretical Elizabeth, and seduced into

Broils.

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into his alliance the earl of Clancarthy. Carew attacked the fortresses, and surprised and slaughtered near Kilkenny three or four hundred of the followers of Butler, who was persuaded soon by the earl his brother, sent from England for that purpose, to surrender himself to justice. Fitzmaurice, repulsed in an attack on Kilkenny, ravaged the open country, and retired into fastnesses at the approach of the lord-deputy. Clancarthy surrendered; and the earl of Thomond, who had also joined in the conspiracy, fled into France, where, by the intercession of Norris, the English ambassador, he obtained a pardon. Sir John Perrot, reputed to be a natural son of Henry the eighth, a man of enterprising activity, and inflexible rigour in the execution of justice, taking the command of the southern forces as president of Munster, so harraressed the rebels, that they were obliged to yield themselves prisoners at discretion. Perrot, having executed the inferior agents, and reserved Fitzmaurice for the queen's judgment, reduced the province to such a state of order and tranquillity as had not been there experienced for above two centuries.

Abortive
plantations.

Some colonial plantations, attempted at this time in Ireland, proved abortive. The settlement of a colony, transported from England to the peninsula of Ardes in the present county of Down, was defeated by the death of Smith its conductor, who was murdered by the treachery of one of the O'Nials. A much more extensive plantation soon after was attempted by Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, in the country of Clan-hubby in Ulster, where twelve hundred soldiers were

were to be maintained for the support of his colony. By the intrigues of the earl of Leicester, the queen's worthless favourite, and of Sir William Fitzwilliam, the successor of Sidney in the Irish administration, such obstacles were thrown in his way both in England and Ireland, that the scheme was ruined, and Essex lost his life either by trouble, or by poison administered by the contrivance of Leicester.

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1573.

While Essex was employed in his fruitless plantation, an insurrection was raised in Connaught by the earl of Clanricard's sons, in which the hatred of the Hibernicized English appeared still greater than that of the old natives against the government of England. These youths, reduced to submission, were pardoned by the queen, as they appeared to have been forced into rebellion by the severities of Sir Edward Fitton, who was in consequence removed from the presidency of Connaught. New commotions, excited by them, were suppressed, and their father on suspicion of favouring their disaffection, was committed to prison, by Sir Henry Sidney, who was again appointed governor with the most honourable and extensive powers, and assured of the annual remittance of twenty thousand pounds in aid of the ordinary revenue of Ireland. On the news of commotions in the north, he marched into Ulster; and, with a force of only six hundred men, he so intimidated the enemies of government, that in a circuit, which he made through the several provinces, he suppressed, without the least bloodshed or danger, all those petty brawls which report usually magnified into desperate rebellions; administering justice, and executing the laws even

Suppression
of commo-
tions.

1576.

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even with severity. He procured the appointment of Sir William Drury to the presidency of Munster, a man of steady determination, who followed the example of his predecessor Perrot, and, in this course of proceeding, insisted on the extension of his jurisdiction into Kerry, without regard to the patent, by which it had been constituted a county palatine. In his way to Tralee, the seat of the earl of Desmond, to which he had been hospitably invited, he met an incident somewhat illustrative of the manners then prevalent. Seven hundred followers of the earl, tall and vigorous, sent to receive the president with honour, were mistaken for a hostile band, and assailed by Drury with his guard of a hundred and twenty soldiers. They fled in astonishment without the least attempt of resistance, leaving the countess to explain the affair to the president.

Financial
disputes.

When the kingdom was reduced to this extraordinary state of order and tranquility, a general discontent was excited by a financial measure of the governor, to which he was impelled by the complaints in England of the burthen of Irish government on the English treasury. By a custom established for many years the inhabitants of the English districts were annually charged with the furnishing of a certain proportion of provisions for the use of the royal garrisons and the governor's household, in place of which an assessment was paid, regulated by the principal people of each district. Sidney, by the sole virtue of the queen's prerogative, proceeded to substitute a composition for this assessment, to convert the same into a permanent revenue, and to extend the

the exaction of it to all the subjects, without regard to privileges of exemption from purveyance, enjoyed by patent for some ages in several places. A universal opposition was made against a tax imposed without authority of parliament. Three agents, deputed by the inhabitants of the Pale to plead their cause before her Majesty, were by her order committed to the Fleet prison in London, and afterwards to the tower. Those lords and gentlemen, who had subscribed their names to authorize those agents, were imprisoned in Dublin. Elizabeth at length, in whose character was caution at a crisis of danger, admitted a compromise. The prisoners were dismissed on an equivocal submission, when they acknowledged their mode of application not sufficiently dutiful, and disavowed all intention of calling in question the just prerogative of her Majesty; and a composition of purveyance was by the deputy and council, with the concurrence of the chief men of the Pale, settled for the space of the seven following years.

Doubtless Elizabeth's counsels were influenced on this occasion by the intelligence of designs in Spain and Italy to send troops into Ireland for the assistance of rebellion. An adventurer from Ireland of English birth, named Thomas Stukely, hostile to English government from disappointed ambition, raised in Pope Gregory the thirteenth a vain hope of being able to establish his son, Jacomo Boncompagno, king of Ireland; for which purpose he received from his Holiness eight hundred Italian soldiers, who were to be paid by the king of Spain. Stukely, embarking with his forces at Civita Vecchia, touched in his way to Ireland at
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the river Tagus, when Sebastian, king of Portugal, was preparing for a romantic expedition into the African kingdom of Morocco. On the promise of Sebastian to join in the Irish invasion after the accomplishment of his designs in Africa, Stukely accompanied the monarch in his wild enterprise, and fell with his followers in the plains of Barbary. Philip, taking advantage of the weakness of Portugal by the loss of its army and king in Morocco, added
1578. by conquest that country to his Spanish dominions, and thus for that time was diverted from his attempts against Elizabeth's government in this island.

The earl of Desmond and his brother, who had been confined in London, and thence remitted, as prisoners of state, to Dublin, had effected their escape to their followers in Munster; and James Fitzmaurice, who had surrendered to Perrot, had been pardoned by the queen, and repaid her clemency by schemes of renewed rebellion with assistance from abroad. Failing in his application to the king of France, he passed thence into Spain and Italy, where he received every encouragement except men and money. Obtaining, however, a band of eighty Spaniards, reinforced by some English and Irish fugitives, he landed with these in the harbour of Smerwick, in the county of Kerry, where they were left without means of retreat, as their three vessels were captured by an English ship of war. The invaders were accompanied by Allen, an Irish priest, and by Saunders, an Englishman, who was vested with the dignity of legate from the pope, and furnished with a bull for spiritual indulgences to the
champions

champions of the faith. They were joined by Sir John and James, brothers of the earl of Desmond, with some forces ; but as the earl himself, though fully inclined to give them every assistance in his power, hesitated through fear to declare openly in their favour ; Fitzmaurice, in the rage of disappointment, expressed some suspicion of the sincerity even of Sir John. The latter, to remove all doubt of his attachment to the cause, committed a deed of most horrid atrocity, the murder of Henry Davels, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a most amiable character, and so great a benefactor to the murderer, whom he had often redeemed from prison, as to have been stiled by him his father. This act, though condemned by many catholics, was by bigots highly extolled, insomuch that it was pronounced by Saunders *a sweet sacrifice to God !*

Such acts could not conduce to the success of their scheme. Fitzmaurice, in a journey through Con-
Progress of the rebellion. 1579.
 naught for the excitement of rebellion, fell in a skirmish; in which a son of Sir William de Burgo, his antagonist, was also slain. The command of the invaders and their associates devolved on Sir John of Desmond, who, on the approach of an army under Sir William Drury, the successor of Sidney, abandoned his post at Smerwick, and distributed his forces among the disaffected in Kerry. In a harassing warfare of desultory skirmishes and surprises, with a lurking and evasive enemy, a body of two hundred soldiers of the queen was at one time surrounded and slain, which elevated so much the hopes of her enemies that the rebel army received every
 day

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XVI.

day fresh augmentations, and Sir John prepared for a decisive battle. With a force of seven hundred men, Sir Nicholas Malby, to whose conduct Drury, retiring into ill health, had committed the troops, marched against the rebels, who were posted, two thousand in number, in a plain near Limerick, at an old abbey called Monaster-Neva. After a long doubtful combat, in which the Irish, by the dispositions of the Spanish officers, displayed uncommon steadiness, victory declared in favour of the royalists, who found among the numerous dead of the vanquished the body of the zealous jesuit, Allen.

Rebel-
lion of Des-
mond.

The earl of Desmond, who had made a show of arming in the royal cause, but had been suspected, and at last convicted, by intercepted letters, of practising secretly with the rebels, was, after repeated attempts to reclaim him, attacked as an open enemy, by Sir William Pelham, the successor of Drury. Desmond surprised, and mercilessly plundered, the town of Youghal, and destroyed a detachment sent for its recovery; but in a war waged by the ravages of his territories, and the successive reduction of his garrisons, himself and his unfortunate followers were soon reduced to the most abject misery. Many, with their families, followed the royal troops, imploring relief by death from the affliction of outrageous hunger; and himself begged, as an act of mercy, from admiral Winter, who cruised near the coast, to be received on board his fleet, and conveyed a prisoner to London. His request was rejected, and his brother, Sir James, was executed, when taken prisoner, by martial law.

1580.

Some

Some chance of a reverse of fortune seemed once to be afforded by the rashness of Arthur lord Grey, and the arrival of new succour. Grey, appointed successor to Pelham, immediately on his arrival commanded the troops of her Majesty to attack a body of rebels posted in the vallies of Glendalough in Wicklow, under lord Baltinglas and a chieftain of the O'Byrnes. "Those veterans," says Leland, "who had been trained in the Irish wars, and knew the situation of the enemy, and the manner of their hostilities, received the order with an honourable submission, and, though sensible of their imminent danger, if not their inevitable ruin, marched boldly to the attack. They were to enter a steep and marshy valley, perplexed with rocks, and winding irregularly through hills thickly wooded. As they advanced, they found themselves more and more encumbered; and either sunk into the yielding soil, so as to be utterly incapable of action, or were obliged to clamber over rocks, which disordered their march. In the midst of confusion and distress, a sudden volley from the woods was poured in upon them, without any appearance of an enemy; and repeated with terrible execution. Soldiers and officers fell without any fair opportunity of signaling their valour. Audley, Moore, Cosby, and Sir Peter Carew, all distinguished officers, were slain in this rash adventure," the offspring of the new governor's inexperience and precipitation, who returned with confusion and dishonour to the capital.

Soon after arrived the alarming news of the landing at Smerwick of Spanish and Italian forces, who brought arms and ammunition for five thousand men,

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New invasion.

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men, with a sum of money, from the king of Spain. While these troops, amounting to seven hundred, were employed in the completion of a fort, which they called *Del Oro* or the Golden, they were so terrified at the approach of the earl of Ormond with his army, that they fled into the woods with some Irish guides; but when the smallness of his force was discovered, three hundred of them with their general returned to their fortress. Here besieged by Grey with eight hundred men from Dublin, and the fleet of admiral Winter, they were in a few days reduced to a desperate state, and surrendered at discretion. As they had been offered terms of capitulation which they had rejected, and could produce no commission from the pope or king of Spain, they were all, with exception of some officers, particularly San Josepo, their commander, inhumanly butchered by the command of Grey, with the concurrence of his council, who committed the horrid service to Sir Walter Raleigh.

Further
transac-
tions.

On information, true or false, of a conspiracy in the capital, several persons were imprisoned, and some executed, on Grey's return to the seat of government. Among the latter was Nugent, baron of the Exchequer, a man of a singularly good character, who appears to have been totally innocent, since, beside other circumstances, the earl of Kildare and others, accused in like manner, were on a fair trial acquitted of every charge, or even suspicion, of disloyalty. Such severities were practised also in Munster against suspected persons of the old English race, that Grey was emphatically represented by complainants to the queen, as leaving nothing in Ireland

for

for her Majesty to reign over but ashes and carcases. Grey was in consequence recalled, and pardon offered to the rebels, whose affairs were now desperate. The miscreant, Sir John of Desmond, had fallen in a skirmish with the party of an officer named Zouch; and Saunders, the pope's legate, expired unassisted in a solitary retreat, where his body was mangled by beasts. The earl of Desmond, excepted from pardon, sculking from place to place, and forsaken daily by some of his attendants, was at last found alone, in a wretched hovel, by an Irishman, named Kelly of Moriarta, who brought his head to the earl of Ormond. Two agents at this time arrived from Spain with arms and ammunition; but instantly returned when they learned the fate of the earl and his adherents. To that kingdom fled lord Balinglas, the last remaining rebel of note in Ireland, which seemed everywhere brought under obedience to the queen; but the effects of war were horrid, particularly in Munster, which, excepting the towns, exhibited a woeful scene of desolation, with famine in all its ghastly forms. In this state of affairs a lord-deputy was appointed, revered by the inhabitants of Ireland in general for his justice and impartiality, Sir John Perrot, a man of liberal and benevolent policy, of experience and reflexion in the concerns of Ireland, and capable, if he had been supported in his plans, of settling the peace and prosperity of this unfortunate country on a secure and permanent foundation.

1582,

1583.

1584.

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Scheme of Perrot—A parliament—Opposition to Perrot—Plantation in Munster—Commutations of the De Burgos—Discontents in Ulster—Mean stratagem against O'Donnel—Resignation of Perrot—Fitzwilliam's administration—Spanish Armada—Death of O'Ruarc—Escape of O'Donnel—Execution of Mac-Mahon—Reply of Mac-Guire—University of Dublin—Plans of Hugh O'Nial—Kills Hugh-ne-Gavelocke—Accused by Bagnal—His duplicity—War of O'Donnel—Rebellion of O'Nial—His address in single combat—Attacked by Norris—His feigned submission—Duplicity—Trial of Bingham—Death of Norris—Burgh's exploits and death—Death of Kildare—Insidious treaty.

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Scheme
of Perrot.
1584.

THE scheme of Sir John Perrot, who entered on the administration of Ireland in 1584, was that alone, which, if carried into execution, could render this island an acquisition of any value to the English crown, or indeed prevent it from being a wasteful drain of blood and treasure from the English nation. By a steady, strict, and impartial execution, and gradual extension of English law, he aimed to reduce all the inhabitants of the island into a state of uniform polity, reformation of manners, peace and prosperity. Having published amnesty and assurance of protection to all who should return to their allegiance, and sent the son of the deceased earl of Desmond to England, to be rendered by education

cation a fit object of royal favour, he proceeded to visit the several provinces, to prepare the way for the execution of his plan. Appointing sheriffs for the counties of Connaught, and marching to the north against some Scottish invaders, who fled to their ships at his approach, he was attended with alacrity by the Irish chiefs of Ulster, who testified their wishes for the acceptance of English law, and agreed to the payment of an assessment or composition for the maintenance of eleven hundred soldiers in their province without expence to the queen.

For the carrying of his plan into effect, he petitioned the English government for the allowance of fifty thousand pounds a year during three years, representing it, as it really would have been, *the cheapest purchase which England had made* for a great length of time. His request was declined by the oeconomy of Elizabeth, who was engaged in the assistance of the Dutch in their war against Spain; the alarm of ministers concerning domestic plots and foreign invasion; and even the absurd and pernicious jealousy of some, (a jealousy reprobated by men best acquainted with Ireland,) lest the people of this island, no longer weakened and impoverished by intestine war, should become independent of the English crown. Only a small sum of money, and a force of six hundred men in addition to the army of Ulster, were granted by the queen, who had afterwards ample reason to repent, as the subsequent wars of Ireland, which would have been prevented by a timely disbursement comparatively trifling,

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were the cause of a vast and grievous expenditure.

A parliament.
1585.

In April 1585, a parliament was convened in Dublin, in which were several commoners of the old Irish race, Turlough of Tyrone as a temporal peer, and the bishops of Clogher and Raphoe, who had received their sees by the sole authority of the pope. A suspension of Poynings' law, which was become a customary expectation of every governor, as a mark of confidence, was refused by the members of the Pale, who made also in other cases so violent an opposition, that the session was quickly

Opposition
to Perrot.

terminated by a prorogation. Hostility was not confined to debates of parliament against this governor, whose protection of the old natives by an equal administration of justice, and plans for the public advantage interfering with abuses which conduced to private lucre, raised a host of enemies, who laboured by various means to effect his disgrace with the queen, even by forged letters, the influence of which was not entirely effaced by their detection. Instead of augmenting his force for the forwarding of his salutary designs Elizabeth, drafted repeatedly troops from this country to the Netherlands, even when an invasion from Spain was apprehended in Munster; nor was his offer accepted of discouraging the foreign foe, by using his influence among the Irish chiefs of the several provinces to wait on her Majesty with assurances of their allegiance. Under all discouragements, Perrot still exerted his talents for the general safety, and procured in Connaught, in like manner

manner as in Ulster, a composition for the maintenance of troops in that quarter.

By an act of attainder against the earl of Desmond and his adherents, lands in Munster, to the amount of at least five hundred and seventy-four thousand acres, were forfeited to the crown, in which Elizabeth was anxious to plant an English colony. Advantageous terms were offered, and grants of above two hundred thousand acres made to several proprietors, among whom was the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh. But the grantees failed to perform the condition of their tenures: great frauds were practised to avoid the completion of the stipulated numbers of English tenants: non-residents committed the management of their colonies to ignorant or dishonest agents: no effectual provisions for defence were made by the planters or the queen; a neglect afterwards attended with disastrous consequences.

Meanwhile in Connaught, some chiefs of the De Burgo sept, irritated at the execution of English law, which deprived them of their tyrannical power over their inferiors, perhaps also by unnecessary severities of sheriffs and other officers of justice, refused obedience to the new system, on account of which one, named Thomas Roah, with two of his adherents, was put to death by Sir Richard Bingham, president of the province. The interference of the governor in favour of the De Burgos encouraged them to further opposition, even by arms, which caused the execution of Richard, brother to Thomas Roah; and when Bingham, summoned to
Dublin,

Commissions in
Connaught.

1536.

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Dublin, gave an account of his conduct to the governor and council, they raised a still more formidable insurrection, declaring in favour of Spain and Rome. Bingham, returning to his presidency, executed their hostages, and prosecuting the war with vigour, gave them at last a complete overthrow, in a bloody encounter, in which they were assisted by two thousand Scottish rovers, and in which also the president was loyally supported by some Irish and Hibernicized English clans.

Discontents
in Ulster.

As in Connaught, so also discontents arose in Ulster, where sheriffs are said to have purchased their places, and to have acted with a rapacity creative of detestation to English government, while the administration, debilitated by the withdrawing of the troops to Belgium, resorted to temporary expedients, unworthy and impolitic, afterward productive of much calamity. Hugh O'Nial of Tyrone was entrusted with military power, and the dynast of Tyrconnel was bound to keep the peace by a mean artifice. By the contrivance of Perrot, a ship with Spanish wines was sent under the command of a merchant of Dublin, who pretended to be a Spanish trader, and who, arriving on the coast of Donegal, enticed the eldest son of O'Donnell on board, whom he carried to Dublin, where he was committed to custody as a hostage for his father, who, in defiance of government, had refused to admit a sheriff into his territory. Perrot soon after, wearied of his unsupported administration, the cabals of English enemies, and the coldness of the queen, produced leave to resign by earnest solicitation; but before his departure, summoning the suspected

1588.

pected Irish chieftains, he persuaded them to give hostages for their fidelity; and when he delivered the sword of state to his successor, Sir William Fitzwilliam, he declared that, though he was now a private man, he would engage to bring into custody any suspected leader in the kingdom, within twenty days; without violence or contest.

By the exertions of Perrot, and his influence among the old natives, acquired by his justice, Ireland was in a state of quiet at his departure, which might have been maintained and improved by Fitzwilliam. The time was critical, as a vast fleet from Spain, styled the *Invincible Armada*, threatened the invasion and even conquest of England. On the failure of this armament by storms and the valour of English mariners, five thousand four hundred men in seventeen of its vessels were driven on the northern and north-western coasts of Ireland, where they were entertained with cordial hospitality, and gave their promise to return in formidable force to assist the Irish against the heretical government of Elizabeth. O'Ruarc of Bressney even then took arms, on the arrival of Antonio de Leva, with a thousand Spaniards in his neighbourhood; but, forsaken by this commander, who soon after sunk with his crew near the coast, and attacked by Bingham, he fled into Scotland, by order of whose king he was sent prisoner to London, where he suffered death as a traitor.

Fitzwilliam, whose principal object seems to have been private lucre, with little regard to justice or the interest of his sovereign, proceeded to commit
actions

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1589.

actions injurious to English government. Informed that vast quantities of treasure, and various kinds of stores, had been left by the Spaniards, where they had been entertained, he sent, and afterwards went himself, to search for the booty ; but totally disappointed, he seized without any grounds for presumption of guilt, two Irish chieftains of approved fidelity to the English crown, Sir Owen Mac-Toole and Sir John O'Dougherty, who were closely confined in the castle of Dublin, the former till his life was in the extremity of danger, the latter for two years, till he was enlarged for a bribe. Probably also by connivance of the governor, and not without emolument, an escape was effected from durance in the castle by Hugh O'Donnel, who had been circumvented by Perrot, the sons of John O'Nial, and other hostages, some of whom arrived at their homes without molestation ; but O'Donnel and Arthur O'Nial, finding themselves pursued, took refuge in a solitary retreat, where by their friends the latter was found dead with famine, and the former dangerously benumbed with cold. Recovering and effecting his escape, with an implacable hatred of the English government, this youth was vested with the Irish lordship of Tyrconnel on the resignation of his father.

1590.

To extend the odium of English polity among the ancient natives, an atrocious act of injustice was committed under the appearance of legal formality. Hugh Mac-Mahon of Monaghan, petitioning for the inheritance of his deceased brother, to which he was actually heir by English law, was, in consequence,

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As appears probable, of a failure in pecuniary promises to the governor, tried by a jury said to have been composed of common soldiers, condemned, executed, and his lands confiscated, on an accusation of his having enforced the payment of some rents by arms, contrary to English law, at a time before English law had any existence in that country. An alarm was excited, and a secret combination formed among the Irish chiefs of Ulster, against the admission of a new jurisdiction, whose abuse, not utility, was plainly perceived; so that when Fitzwilliam intimated to Mac-Guire of Fermanagh his design to send a sheriff into his district, the Irish lord answered with well-affected simplicity, "your sheriff shall be welcome: but let me know his *erik*, that if my people should cut off his head, I may levy it on the country." By the dissimulation, however, and crafty management of Hugh O'Nial, the north seemed in a state of tranquil obedience, while preparations were made in silence for a formidable rebellion. In confirmation of the idea of general submission, a composition for purveyance was established for three years in Munster in aid of the royal revenue.

At this time Elizabeth found leisure to attend to the foundation of an Irish university, for the gradual improvement of the church of Ireland, the state of which was indescribably wretched. Abortive attempts had before been made for the erection of a seminary, by Lech, archbishop of Dublin, in 1311; by Bricknor, his successor, in 1320; by the Irish parliament in 1465; by Sir Henry Sidney in 1569; and

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1591.

and by Sir John Perrot before his resignation. In 1591, Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, who from views of private interest had opposed the scheme of Perrot, procured for the site of a university the monastery of All-halows, which had been founded by Dermod Mac-Murchad, king of Leinster; and which, on the dissolution of religious houses in the reign of Henry the eighth, had been vested in the mayor and citizens of Dublin. From the queen were obtained through Henry Usher and Lucas Challoner, agents employed on the occasion, a mortmain license for the land granted by the city, and a regular charter, by which a college was erected as mother of a university, by the stile of *the College of the Holy and undivided Trinity near Dublin*. Its first provost was Adam Loftus: its three first fellows, in the name of more, were the two above-named agents, with Launcelot Moyne: its three first scholars, in the name of more, were Henry Lee, William Daniel, and Stephen White; and Cecil, lord Burleigh, was the first chancellor. For the raising of the buildings benevolent contributions were solicited: the students were admitted on the ninth of January 1593; and, cherished by the queen's bounty amid the desolation of succeeding wars, this college obtained a firm establishment, and has risen since to a pitch of literary merit supereminent among the universities of Europe, though not of correspondent fame.

1593.

Plans of
O'Nial.

But a time of dangerous insurrection was now approaching, when Elizabeth had cause to repent of her parsimony in Ireland, a parsimony excusable, though

though unfortunate, in her difficult situation. Hugh O'Nial, son of Mathew baron of Dungannon, a man of the deepest dissimulation and most insinuating address, of a figure not striking, but a hardy constitution, polished in manners by early service in the English army and a liberal education, had obtained by his persuasive powers from the queen in 1587 the earldom and estates of Tyrone with some reservations. Regarded as a firm friend of English government, he was permitted to retain six companies of soldiers for the enforcement of peace in Ulster. By continually dismissing the men who had learned the use of arms, and substituting others for the same instruction, he formed most of his vassals to military discipline; and, under the pretext of covering the roof of his castle at Dungannon, he imported vast quantities of lead for bullets. Fearing suspicions of his treasonable practices, particularly with the Spaniards driven on the coast, he repaired again to Elizabeth, and, cheerfully acquiescing in all the conditions imposed, was dismissed with a continuation of the royal favour. Accused immediately after by the sons of John O'Nial, he made so artful a defence as to elude the accusation, and to be permitted to return to Ireland, where with equal artifice he evaded the formal execution of the articles to which he had agreed.

To strengthen his interest among the Irish chieftains, he sent his son to be fostered by the sept of O'Cahan, and gave his daughter in marriage to the young dynast of Tyrconnel, who had escaped from prison in the castle of Dublin. To gratify his revenge

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venge and prevent information of his purposes, he seized and put to death the son of John O'Nial, who had accused him, named Hugh *Ne-Gavelocke*, an appellation signifying *fettered*, from the circumstance of his mother, the wife of Calvagh of Tyrconnel, being in captivity at the time of his birth. So extraordinary on this occasion was found to be the respect for the name of O'Nial, that no person could be procured for the office of executioner otherwise than with great difficulty, and in a distant part of Ireland. He continued to make the most plausible professions, admitting his country to be formed into a shire; and government expressed resentment only by the withdrawing of his commission of martial law which he had thus atrociously abused.

1594. His treasonable designs became more apparent, and Sir Henry Bagnal, a gentleman of great property in Ulster, whose sister this Irish lord had seduced into marriage, exhibited against him articles of impeachment, which he frustrated by specious answers, and a specious interference to save the lives of a sheriff and his attendants in Fermanagh, from the rage of Macguire. To continue the deception he joined his troops to those of Bagnal against the united forces of Macguire, O'Donnel, and some Scottish adventurers, and in a battle, in which these confederates were discomfited, he fought with such apparent zeal that he was wounded in the thigh. Still to wear the mask of loyalty till the arrival of Spanish aid was a policy too refined for the conception of other Irish lords, so that, separating from the English army through pretended fear of Bagnal,

he

he sent his brother Cormac to the assistance of O'Donnel, who had declared that he would consider him as an enemy, if he delayed any longer to unite with his countrymen. By other incidents he was forced to the gradual and premature disclosure of his views. The death of Turlough Linnough of Tyrone, the head of the sept, left no room for hesitation. Seizing the decisive moment, he threw into prison the sons of John, prior in blood, as himself was the son of an illegitimate father; and assumed the title of *the O'Nial*, or dynast of the sept, a title held in such veneration by the Irish, that, either to conciliate the love of his countrymen, or from pride of ancestry, he had been often heard to say that "he would rather be the O'Nial of Ulster than king of Spain," the most powerful monarch at that time in Europe. As himself had, with the semblance of the most cordial loyalty, strenuously recommended the total suppression of this title, as essentially necessary for the obedience of the north to English government, his designs could be no longer hidden; yet the weakness of administration acquiesced in his apology, "that he had assumed the title of dynast, merely to prevent some other less loyal than himself; and that he was determined to resign it whenever a regular system of English polity should be established in his territories."

In the mean time O'Donnel prosecuted the war with extraordinary vigour. Bingham in Connaught had defeated some northern invaders, had pursued them, and taken Enniskillen, the principal fortress of Macguire. On the return of the general to his presidency

War of
O'Donnel

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presidency this post was invested by the forces of Tyrconnel. An English army, sent to its relief, was routed : the garrison, surrendering through famine, was butchered : O'Donnel, bearing into Connaught the horrors of desolation, destroyed a detachment marching to assist the garrison of Belleek, and treated that garrison in the same manner as the former : and in completion of his triumph, established, as chief of his district, one of the Hibernized De Burgos, his associate, with the title of *the Mac-William*. For the repression of these disorders a distinguished leader, Sir John Norris, with a force of three thousand men from England, of whom two thousand were veterans, was appointed with a command independent of the lord-deputy, who had orders at the same time to endeavour by secret practices to detach O'Donnel from the earl of Tyrone, considered now as the hidden spring of rebellion in that quarter.

O'Neil's
rebellion.

This earl had nearly fallen a victim of his own duplicity. With an affected consciousness and warmth of loyalty he had waited on Sir William Russel, the successor of Fitzwilliam, who would have committed him to custody, as his treasons were then suspected, if he had not been prevented by the majority of the council. Seeing measures taken against him he resolved to strike an early blow, yet attempted still to amuse by offers of submission, while he most earnestly solicited assistance from Spain. Driving the English garrison from the fort of Blackwater, he attacked the castle of Monaghan, where, in a skirmish with some troops, who had come to its relief, he displayed much address in single combat. Assailed and

1595.

and unhorsed by Sedgrave, an English officer, he pulled, as he fell, his antagonist after him; and when Sedgrave, who was over him on the ground, was proceeding to dispatch him, he prevented the blow by plunging a dagger into his body.

Hostilities were suspended by proposals of accommodation on the part of Elizabeth, whose policy in Irish affairs was weak and temporizing, different from the conduct commonly pursued by her elsewhere. To her commissioners the Irish chiefs presented themselves in open field, not with the submission of subjects, but as generals in parley. O'Nial, O'Donnel, and their associates, having stated their grievances, and made their proposals, disdainfully rejected those of the commissioners, agreeing only to a truce of a few days. At the expiration of the truce the northerners were so terrified at the forces with which the lord-deputy and Norris marched against them, that O'Nial retired to the woods, abandoning the fort of Blackwater, and burning Dungannon, in which was his own house, together with the adjacent villages. Leaving garrison in Armagh and Monaghan, and a part of the army in this quarter under the command of Norris, the deputy retired with the rest to Dublin, professing an intention to chastise some insurgents in Leinster, where, as in other places, the disaffected had been encouraged by the timidity of government to insult its weakness. To gain time till the arrival of Spanish aid, O'Nial again had recourse to feigned submission by letters to the queen and Norris, so pathetic that the latter became warmly interested in his favour. In a conference at Dundalk he assented with a suspicious ease to the articles demanded,

1596.

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one of which was his renunciation of the title of *the* O'Nial for that of the earl of Tyrone; but he evaded for the present the liberation of the sons of John O'Nial, the most material demand. As Macguire, O'Donnel, and others, made like submissions, and pardon was promised to each, the northern war appeared to be at an end, while preparations were made for its most formidable explosion.

On the arrival of three pinnaces with ammunition and magnificent promises from the king of Spain, the rebel chiefs were more confined in their hostile designs; but O'Nial, with his usual duplicity, sent the letter, which the Spanish monarch had written to him, to the lord-deputy and council, as a proof of the sincerity of his submission; while his emissaries carried through Leinster and Munster the news of the promised aid, and exhorted the disaffected to take arms, in concert with the northerns, for the defence of Christ's catholic religion. Discontents and injurious treatment of some of the queen's officers contributed also to the encouragement of rebellion. The insurgents of Connaught, repressed by the arms of Norris and the deputy, alleged in excuse for their offence that they had been intolerably oppressed by Sir Richard Bingham, the president, who was in consequence superseded by the appointment of Sir Connyers Clifford, imprisoned, and tried, but, probably with justice, acquitted. The disgrace of Norris was also approaching, as the queen and her ministers, who considered not his wants, nor the difficult nature of his service, were disappointed in their expectations of brilliant success from his noted abilities.

O'Nial

O'Nial, who had intelligence of the state of parties in the English court, wishing at once to keep alive the zeal of his associates, and to amuse the government till his plan should be matured, invested Armagh, under pretence of injuries, expelled the garrison, and, on the approach of Norris, renewed with the most solemn protestations his offers of submission. But when the commissioners had received full powers for the final conferring of pardon on the stipulated terms, he eluded a conference, notwithstanding their mean condescension in soliciting his compliance. To chastise his insolence, a new deputy, Thomas lord Burgh, was appointed by the interest of the earl of Essex; and Norris, who had been duped by the artifices of the Irish chief, was ordered to retire to his presidency of Munster, where the anguish of disgrace put an end to his life in less than two months. Determined to prosecute the war in the most vigorous manner, lord Burgh ordered Sir Connyers Clifford to march from Connaught, and to meet him with his army at the fort of Blackwater; but this leader, opposed in his progress by a body of two thousand allies of the northern chieftain, effected not his retreat, with his little army of seven hundred men, without danger and address; while in Leinster, a Hibernicized Englishman, named Tirrel, detached from O'Nial with a band of five hundred, defeated, and sent prisoner to the north, a son of lord Trimbleston, who had led a thousand against him.

Possessed of a martial spirit and military skill, the deputy, undaunted by partial discomfitures, advanced
 Vol. I. intrepidly

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intrepidly to attack O'Nial, who lay strongly entrenched near Armagh. After an obstinate engagement the rebel army was driven from its entrenchments: lord Burgh pursued; retook the fort of Blackwater; again defeated in a bloody encounter the rebel forces; and was preparing to assail them a third time, where they were posted in defiles between his army and Dungannon, to which he was determined to penetrate, when he unfortunately died, leaving the command to the earl of Kildare. This nobleman, who attempted only to secure the ground already gained, soon after died of grief on account of his two foster-brothers who had fallen in their successful exertions to rescue him from the enemy: so powerful was this artificial tie, and such the sensibility of Kildare!

The civil administration of Ireland was now committed to Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, chancellor, and Sir Robert Gardiner, chief justice: the military to the earl of Ormond with the title of lord lieutenant of the army. While this new general detached Sir Henry Bagnal to support the garrisons of Armagh and Blackwater, O'Nial, dreading the experienced superiority of the English forces, and wishing, as usual, to gain time till a more favourable opportunity, once more had recourse to a most humble solicitation for pardon, and was again admitted to a parley for an accommodation. In a conference at Dundalk, Ormond assented to an armistice of two months to give time to other chiefs to transmit their complaints of grievances to the queen. In a second conference the wily dynast rejected the most material conditions,

conditions, and agreed to others with such exceptions as would render them nugatory. Even thus, under conditions of his own dictation, was the queen induced, by the entreaties of Ormond, to grant him pardon under the great seal, of which he affected a contempt, declining to proceed through the forms of law necessary for his reinstatement in the condition of a loyal subject. When an armistice of twelve months was refused by Ormond, and one only granted for the sixth part of that time, he resolved, without regard to promises or treaties, to recommence hostilities immediately, before the royal army could be recovered from its present shattered condition.

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C H A P. XVIII.

Evils of the queen's temporizing conduct—Battle of Blackwater—General rebellion—Effex lord lieutenant—His misconduct—His interview with O'Nial—His fall—Operations of Tyrone, manifesto, &c.—Appointment of Mountjoy—Seizure of Ormond—Operations of Mountjoy—His alarm—Base coinage—Affairs of Munster—Policy of Carew—The Suggan earl—Spanish invasion—Siege of Kinsale—Fruitless march of Carew—Fresh insurrection—Battle of Kinsale—Surrendry of the Spaniards—Seizure of Dunboy—Reduction of Munster—Operations in Ulster—Dismal famine—Submission of O'Nial—His grief—Reflexions.

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Evils of
temporiz-
ing.

1597.

FROM the temporizing conduct and other errors of Irish administration, in the reign of a princess who acted elsewhere with such a spirit of steady decision, great advantages had been acquired by the enemies of English government in this country. Employed in the royal armies at home and in the Netherlands, many disaffected Irish, unacquainted before with other than tumultuary warfare, had acquired the discipline of standing militia; and O'Nial, who under the sanction of the queen's commission had instructed his followers in military evolutions, had also afterwards shewn them the practice of war, had

had continued their training in the times of armistice, and augmented their number by an influx of mal-contents from all parts of the kingdom.

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When this chieftain, disappointed in his request of a year's truce, judged war expedient for his views, he recommenced hostilities by the Blockade of Armagh, taking post for that purpose between this town and Newry, where Sir Henry Bagnal was encamped. The latter, by a circuit through unfrequented ways, not only relieved the garrison, but, by a sudden attack, threw the enemy into confusion, without the attainment of any decisive advantage. O'Nial, retiring, laid siege to the fort of Blackwater, to the relief of which marched Bagnal reinforced by fresh troops. We find the two armies represented as nearly equal in number, that of Bagnal five thousand, that of O'Nial five thousand one hundred. The onset on both sides was furious, but fortune was unfavourable to the royalists. In the heat of the battle they were disordered by an explosion of gun-powder accidentally fired, and deprived of their leader by a shot in his forehead. With the loss of fifteen hundred soldiers, thirteen officers of conspicuous valour, all its artillery, ammunition, and provisions, the routed army fled to Armagh, which was quickly evacuated on the approach of the enemy, to whom the fort of Blackwater had immediately been surrendered.

Battle of
Blackwater.

This victory, unimportant in appearance from the numbers engaged, was, in the feeble state of administration, the contempt into which it had fallen by the repeated insults of O'Nial, and the general disaffection

General
rebellion.
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affection of the natives, followed by consequences most alarming. Those northerns, who had hitherto hesitated, joined with emulation the army of Tyrone: the flame of insurrection involved all Connaught: several chiefs of Leinster took arms, particularly O'Moore, who, possessing himself of Leix, the ancient country of his clan, pierced into Munster, and, forcing Sir Thomas Norris, the lord president, to retire to Cork, with a harassed army, gave room for operation to the enemies of England, who accordingly rose on all sides with fury. Since, contrary to the original plan, no adequate defence had been provided for the new plantations in this province, they fell a prey to the enemy, who butchered without mercy the unfortunate planters. Miserable throughout all Ireland was the face of affairs, and desperate in appearance the royal cause. Ignominiously engaged within fortifications, and threatened with the dangers of assault, or the miseries of siege and famine, the friends of government abandoned all the open country to the rebels, who indulged in the most licentious riot, and in the most atrocious cruelty on the victims of their capricious rage. To heighten the alarm, intelligence was received through the king of Scotland that Philip of Spain was making mighty preparations to invade both England and Ireland, and that twelve thousand of his troops were destined for the latter.

Appoint-
ment of
Essex.

Elizabeth, convinced, when it was almost too late, of the necessity of great exertions for the pacification of this kingdom, sent her favourite, Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, with the title of lord lieutenant,

nant, with extraordinary powers, even that of pardoning every species of treason, and with a force of twenty-two thousand men, such as had not, since the time of Richard the second, been led into the Irish territories. To this appointment both the friends and enemies of Essex concurred; the former hoping that he might return with victory and augmented influence; the latter that he might ruin himself by his pride and intemperance, while absence might efface the impression of his engaging qualities from the queen's mind. The forces of the earl, supposed irresistible in Ireland by men unacquainted with the country, caused little or no fear to O'Nial and his confederates, who resolutely determined on the most vigorous opposition. On the new governor's arrival in Dublin he was informed that the entire number of his troops was exceeded by that of the rebels in the several provinces, who were also of more hardy and robust bodies than his soldiers, and generally better trained in arms than his newly raised troops.

1599.

Contrary to the queen's instructions, and the opinion delivered by himself previously to his appointment, Essex, instead of marching directly against the northern rebels, and planting garrisons at the important posts of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, made his first expedition into Munster, according to the opinion of the Irish privy council, many of whose members were interested in the late plantations of that province. Harassed in his march by O'Moore, he returned, without the obtaining of any solid advantage, to Dublin, where, finding that six hundred of the queen's forces had been ignominiously defeated by an inferior number of the O'Byrns of Wicklow,

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low, he cashiered the officers, executed a lieutenant, the chief delinquent, and decimated the unfortunate soldiers. After some petty hostilities in Leinster, a sharp reprimand from Elizabeth, and a reinforcement, which he had solicited, of two thousand men, he at last bent his march against O'Nial; but declared in his letters to the queen that he could only lead three thousand five hundred infantry and three hundred horse to the borders of Ulster, and that his intended enterprizes must necessarily be suspended.

The royal armies had been wasted by harassing marches and sickness in Munster and elsewhere. To second his northern operations Essex had ordered Sir Connyers Clifford, president of Connaught, to draw his forces to Beleek; and these, amounting to fifteen hundred foot and two hundred cavalry, had been so suddenly and furiously assailed, in an embarrassed situation, by only two hundred Irish under a chief named O'Ruarc, that having lost a hundred and twenty, among whom was their commander, they returned, though they had repulsed the enemy, to their former post. Such disasters were so discouraging that numbers deserted the standards of the queen; the English to escape distress; the Irish to participate in the expected victories of their countrymen. O'Nial, whose policy was, by a protraction of the war to waste the royal forces, to strengthen his own, and to await Spanish auxiliaries, made requests repeatedly to Essex for a parley, warmly professing to submit to the queen's mercy; and the chief-governor at length assented to an interview.

Essex

Essex had been suspected of ambitious designs, and his conduct, on his arrival in Ireland, seemingly calculated more for the strengthening of his own personal influence than for the public service, gave cause to heighten these suspicions, as he conferred promotions and honours inconsistently with the queen's instructions, and even changed the plan of warfare apparently to gratify individuals. By the agency of an officer of Essex, named Thomas Lee, who passed and repassed between the two generals, O'Nial obtained a private conference at a small river in the county of Louth, where the Irish lord, with obsequious affectation, plunging his horse to the saddle in the stream, held a long conversation with the chief governor, who remained on the bank. The wily Irishman on this occasion endeavoured to enflame the ambition of Essex, and was so confident of having succeeded, that he declared to his associates, on his return, that new troubles would soon arise in England which would require his presence there. At length a public parley commenced in the presence of six persons on each side, in which the lord lieutenant agreed to transmit to the queen the demands of the northerners, and in the mean time to grant them a truce for six weeks, renewable from time to time for the same term, and allowing each party a power to renew the war on a previous notice of fourteen days.

When Essex was made acquainted with the queen's displeasure at his misconduct, he at first resolved to return into England with the flower of his army and take vengeance on his enemies. Diverted from this execrable design by lord Southampton and Sir Christopher

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Parley with
O'Nial.

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Christopher Blunt, he repaired suddenly to London, and, surprising the queen in her bedchamber, who was only then risen and dressing, threw himself on his knees before her and kissed her hand. He availed himself on this occasion of a warrant, long before procured from her Majesty, empowering him to delegate his authority at any time to two lords justices, for whose conduct he should be answerable, and to appear in her presence or at her court ; but in her last letter to him she had expressly commanded his continuance in the Irish government. For the subsequent misfortunes and death of this high spirited and generous, but imprudent nobleman, which ultimately hastened the death of the queen herself, as they belong not to the transactions of Ireland, I refer the reader to Hume and other writers of English history.

Tyrone's
operations.

Receiving new supplies of money, ammunition, and promises, of speedy invasion, from Spain, by Don Matheo Oviedo, a Spaniard, created by the pope archbishop of Dublin, together with a consecrated plume, composed of the feathers of a phoenix, as his Holiness declared, O'Nial renewed the war ; but soon after agreed to a truce of one month with the earl of Ormond, who had been again appointed lord lieutenant of the army. In this interval he addressed a manifesto to all the Irish, earnestly exhorting them to arm for the catholic religion, which he solemnly declared to be so dear to his heart, that he could never be induced by any private interests to abandon its defense ; and assuring them that no allegiance could be due to a sovereign deposed by excommunication for heresy by the supreme pontiff.

This

This chief, who made religion a handle for political purposes, addressed also a letter, signed by himself and other Irish lords, to *the Father of Spirits upon earth*, as his Holiness was styled, in which they acknowledged themselves his subjects, and implored his assistance. In answer to this was published a bull, granting to prince Hugh O'Nial, and all his confederates, the same spiritual indulgences which were usually conferred on those who fought against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land. CHAP.
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In the low condition of English power in this country after the departure of Essex; when the total of the forces, dispirited and sickly, amounted only to fourteen thousand foot and twelve hundred cavalry, distributed through every province of the island; and when the rebels were augmented in number, confidence, and strength, and their designs favoured secretly by many who appeared well affected to the crown; while a chief of no mean talents, dark, subtle, and enterprising, was labouring to unite his compatriotes in a common cause; Ireland must have been lost if a Spanish invasion had now taken place, or if a man of military genius had not been appointed to conduct its affairs. Charles Blunt, lord Mountjoy, a man of literary knowledge and refined manners, had been proposed for the Irish government by the queen before the nomination of Essex; but the arrangement was prevented by the interference of the favourite, who objected to Mountjoy, as a person rendered unfit for military command by a life of study. That such an opinion should be entertained by the rude and boisterous Irish, who could hardly Blunt chief
governor.

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hardly distinguish refinement from effeminacy, might more naturally be expected; and we find that O'Nial exulted in the choice made of a commander who would *lose the season of action while his breakfast was in preparation*. Such men reflected not that generalship depends on the powers of intellect, which by culture alone can be strengthened and enlarged.

1600. Nominated lord-deputy in this crisis, not without some diffidence by the queen, who seems to have placed her chief reliance on the earl of Ormond, lord lieutenant of the army, and Sir George Carew, lord president of Munster, Mountjoy entered Dublin without pomp in February 1600, with the same instructions from his mistress which Essex had received and neglected. He immediately marched to Mullingar to intercept O'Nial in his return from the west of Munster to the north of Ireland; but, amused for some time with various reports, he learned at length that the Irish leader had effected his escape over the river Inny with a precipitation which manifested a fear of the royal army. That some generals of the royalists had connived at this retreat seemed highly probable to the deputy, and suspicion first fell on the earl of Clanricard, but soon after was fixed on the earl of Ormond, who, in a conference with O'Moore near Kilkenny, was taken prisoner, seemingly by a concerted plan between him and the enemy, from whom Sir George Carew and the earl of Thomond, enticed into the snare by Ormond, with great difficulty and danger made their escape. The offers of O'Moore for the liberation of his prisoner on certain conditions were answered only by a
silent

silent contempt, and the deputy proceeded with vigour and dispatch in the execution of his plan, placing garrisons in Dundalk, Ardee, Kells, Newry, and Carlingford, to awe the northerns, and reinforcing those which had been planted in Leix and Offally. CHAP.
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Mountjoy, marching northward, drove O'Nial from his entrenchments between Armagh and Newry; while Sir Henry Dowkra, whose operations were covered by this attack, landed at Loughfoyle, and fortified the city of Derry. So much was the glory of O'Nial tarnished by these successful motions, and such their effect on the fickle Irish, that great numbers deserted to Dowkra, and several chiefs, among whom were Sir Arthur O'Nial, a son of Turlough Lynnogh, and one of the O'Donnells, named Nial Garruff or the *boisterous*, applied for pardon and protection to the deputy. This leader, returning southward, pursued O'Moore and Tirrel into their fastnesses in Leix, the former of whom was killed in an attack on the English troops; and, on promise of protection to their keepers, he recovered some hostages, who had been given for the security of a ransom stipulated for Ormond's liberation. As the enemy every where shrunk from the attack, intimidated by the masterly vigour of his movements, recourse was taken to a horrid expedient, justifiable only on the plea of necessity. Sir Arthur Chichester issuing from Carrickfergus, Sir Samuel Bagnal from Newry, and other officers from their several posts, committed such rueful havoc, even on the standing corn,

Operations
of
Mountjoy.

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corn, as to reduce great part of the country to a desert, and the inhabitants to the unutterable misery of famine.

When Mountjoy in a second expedition to the north had again dislodged O'Nial from his entrenchments, demolished his works, and repulsed him with slaughter in an attempt to oppose his return by Carlingford, he received news from England, which so alarmed him that he made some preparations for a flight to France, resolved, as he said, "not to put his neck under the file of the queen's attorney's tongue." The unhappy Essex, condemned for high treason, had named, among other persons of note, Mountjoy, as having been acquainted with his secret practices. But Elizabeth, too prudent to risk the loss of important services for the indulgence of petty resentments, wrote the deputy a letter which removed his apprehensions. He therefore proceeded in his successful mode of warfare, raising the spirits of his troops, harassing the enemy by incessant alarms, and encouraging the Irish, by the scrupulous fulfilment of every promise, not only to forsake the rebel chiefs, but to act against them under the royal banners. "With more of policy than humanity" says Leland, "he took care that these Irish souldiers should be exposed both to toil and danger; and even boasted to the queen that he had thus diminished the number of her secret enemies. They were, however, outwardly encouraged, and their leaders rewarded by especial favours, when they once approved their fidelity."

Base coin-
age.

To augment the distress of the rebels, a scheme was devised by the English ministry, unwillingly adopted

adopted by the queen, unwelcome to the deputy, and ruinous to many loyalists. Of four or five hundred thousand pounds, annually expended in sterling money for the maintenance of the Irish war, a considerable part, by plunder or traffic, fell into the hands of O'Nial and his confederates, who were thereby enabled to procure from the continent arms, ammunition, and provisions. To deprive them of this advantage a base coin was sent into this kingdom and ordered to be taken for sterling; the importation and use of every other strictly prohibited; and places of exchange appointed in England and Ireland, where the subjects of either kingdom might commute their coins, allowing a difference of one shilling in the pound between the Irish and English standard. Doubtless the rebels were more than ever distressed, when such money only could be procured, as, passing merely for its intrinsic value in foreign countries, purchased little for their use; but the distress was also severely felt by the royal troops, for traders well knew how to raise their prices, so as not to be losers in their sales by adulterated metal. To prevent a mutiny Mountjoy kept his troops incessantly in motion, and with such success, that he received instructions to thank the army and all the officers, in the queen's name, for their zeal and duty in her service.

1601.

While the lord-deputy was thus employed in Leinster and the north, Sir George Carew was acting in Munster with vigour and address. On his entrance on the presidency of this province the whole of

Affairs of
Munster.

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of his army amounted only to three thousand infantry and two hundred and fifty horse ; a force quite inadequate to oppose the rebel chiefs, if these had been cordially united. Florence Mac-Arthy, who had revolted from government, and obtained from Tyrone the title of Mac-Arthy More, commanded three thousand men. James Fitzthomas, who claimed the earldom of Desmond, and had received also the authority of Tyrone for his claim, thence denominated in derision by Irish loyalists the *Suggan* earl, or the earl of *Straw*, was followed by formidable numbers who were attached to the title : and five thousand mercenaries from Connaught were under the conduct of Redmond De Burgh and Dermot O'Connor. To disunite these chiefs by the infusion of mutual jealousies, and to circumvent them by the treachery of their own followers, was the policy of Carew, who from his post in Cork watched every opportunity of advantage.

A man named Nugent, being seized in an attempt to assassinate John Fitzthomas, a brother of the *Suggan* earl, declared at his execution that many more were engaged by the lord president for the same purpose, which created such a terror in the two brothers as to paralyse their faculties, and render them unfit for military enterprises. O'Connor, one of the Connaught leaders, gained likewise by flattering promises, seized by stratagem the *Suggan* earl, and would have delivered him to Carew, if he had not been rescued by his brother John, and a leader named Pierce Lacy, who collected four thousand men

on

On this occasion. De Burgh also, receiving encouragement to hope for the lordship of Leitrim, marched home to Connaught with five hundred mercenaries. Emboldened by the disunion of the enemy, the president proceeded to a more honourable mode of warfare, a vigorous prosecution of military operations, in the course of which he reduced the fortress of a chieftain styled the Knight of the Valley, and in Kerry the castle of the lord of Lixnaw, committing in his progress the most dismal devastation. From the dread of desolation and famine, many of the most desperate rebels sued for absolution for the sin of submitting to a heretical government, and for permission to live under it in temporal obedience. Two thousand five hundred of the troops of Connaught, fearing to be intercepted, determined to abandon their confederates of Munster, and obtained leave to return unmolested to their homes. The army of the Suggan earl was defeated and dispersed by the garrison of Kilmallock; and as Mac-Arthy More had by dextrous management been engaged to stand neuter, no rebel force in Munster appeared any longer in the field. A pardon tendered by the queen to all, with some exceptions, who should be nominated by the president to the deputy, was accepted readily by four thousand persons, and the country was so reduced to obedience that justice was administered in it with regularity.

To contribute to the continuance of tranquility, the Suggan earl, who had concealed himself in the

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invasion.

lands of a chieftain stiled the White Knight, was, on threats denounced against that chieftain, taken by him and delivered to Carew, by whom he was sent to London, together with Mac-Arthy More, who was seized on the discovery of treasonable practices. In this situation of affairs in the southern province, the long threatened invasion from Spain at length took place, with a body of about six thousand men, under Don Juan d'Aquila, who landed at Kinsale, in September 1601, with his principal force, while the rest of the armament was driven by a storm into the bay of Baltimore. With hardly six thousand men the deputy marched boldly against the invaders, besieged them in Kinsale, repelled their frequent sallies, furiously assaulted and took the castle of Rincorran on the river half a mile from the town, and was continually advancing his approaches, when intelligence was received that O'Donnel was in full march to assist the Spaniards, with troops from Connaught and Leinster, and that he was followed by O'Nial with the flower of the northerns.

To intercept O'Donnel, Carew was ordered, contrary to his own judgment, to march with a part of the forces, while Mountjoy with the rest continued the siege. But the Irish leader eluded his efforts, and, passing rapidly over a frozen mountain, pierced into Munster, leaving him to return with a harassed army. The deputy, however, pushed strenuously the siege, and took another fort, called Castlepark, in an island opposite to Rincorran, as he found him-
self

self reinforced by several bodies of troops, particularly under the earls of Clanricard and Thomond. But on the other hand a new armament arrived from Spain of six vessels, with two thousand men, whose landing at Castlehaven, together with the intelligence which they brought of other armaments prepared to follow, gave such encouragement to the disaffected septs, who had submitted, and hitherto stood neuter, that the insurrection was general in Desmond, Kerry, and all parts to the west of Kinsale and Limerick. Admiral Leviston, who had brought a supply of two thousand troops to Cork, attacked the Spanish fleet in Castlehaven, and destroyed some of their ships; but received so much damage in his own vessels from a battery on shore as to return to the harbour of Kinsale in a shattered condition. O'Donnell, joined by the Spaniards from Castlehaven, and O'Nial, with the troops of Ulster, lay in such positions as to blockade the deputy's forces on the land side, while their supplies were so slowly furnished by sea, that with hunger, and the cold of November, many dropped dead on their posts, and many more deserted. This little army, on whose fortune the fate of Ireland was now suspended, must have been destroyed, if the Irish had continued obstinately to maintain their present position; and such is said to have been the plan of O'Nial; but pressed by D'Aquila and some of his Irish associates, and fearing bad consequences from the want of union and subordination among his unwieldy numbers, this chief at length advanced

CHAP. XVIII. advanced with reluctance to attack the English army.

Battle of Kinsale. To await an assault on his camp was judged unsafe by the deputy, who therefore, leaving Carew with part of his forces to continue the siege, marched at day-break, on the twenty-fourth of November, to meet the enemy, with a body of only twelve hundred infantry and four hundred cavalry. This unexpected movement, with the masterly disposition of his troops, surprised and intimidated the confederate Irish, who halted, retired, again halted, and offered battle. Furiously charged by the earl of Clanricard, and Wingfield, marshal of the army, their cavalry fled in confusion. The vanguard, led by Tirrel, was routed after some resistance, and the Spaniards of Castlehaven abandoned, who fell bravely fighting, except a few, who with Ocampo, their general, surrendered. The main body, commanded by O'Nial, next yielded to the shock; and the rear, with O'Donnel, its commander, fled without fighting. This very surprizing victory, gained with a loss on the royal side of only a cornet slain, and a few soldiers wounded, was attended with such havoc among the routed forces, that twelve hundred lay dead, and eight hundred were wounded; a number on the whole amount exceeding that of the conquering army! O'Donnel in despair took refuge in Spain; and O'Nial, forsaken by most of his army, retired with wounded pride, and the anguish of disappointment, into Ulster.

Surrendry
of the Spaniards.

D'Aquila, who had hitherto remained within his fortifications, mistaking the volleys, fired by Mountjoy's

joy's troops in honor of their victory, for signals of CHAP.
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the approach of his Irish allies, sallied from the town ; but when he saw the Spanish colours in possession of the English, he retired, and in the rage of indignation against confederates who had suffered themselves to be so disgracefully defeated, made proposals of surrendry. Very honourable terms were wisely granted to the high-spirited Spaniard, who would indignantly have rejected any another, and whose romantic notions were such that he had challenged, on his first summons, the lord-deputy to single combat ; a mode of decision rejected with silent contempt by Mountjoy, sensible of the absurdity of confounding the general with the soldier. By the articles of capitulation all fortresses held in Ireland by Spanish troops were evacuated ; but the fort of Dunboy at Berehaven was seized, as his property, by Daniel O'Sullivan, an Irish chief, who resolved to defend it against the queen's troops. The Spanish general, with a nice sense of honour, offered his service for the reduction of this fortress previously to his departure, which was politely refused ; and the place was taken by storm by Carew after a most desperate defense. 1602.

The capitulation of D'Aquila was a fortunate event, as the Spanish monarch was preparing to send other armaments which thus were prevented. Reduction
of the re-
bels.
Yet by the expectation of these, and the preaching of Romish fanatics, the flame of rebellion still blazed with such fury in Munster, that all royalists, who fell into the hands of the insurgents, were butchered

as

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as heretics, while the captives of the latter were hanged as traitors. Confounded at length by the operations of Carew, who seized their forts, ravaged their lands, and harassed them with famine and incessant alarms, they either threw themselves on the mercy of government, or sought refuge elsewhere. In a similar manner Mountjoy, who had marched to the north, proceeded against the adherents of Tyrone, who a second time set fire in his flight to his town of Dungannon. By the erection of the new fortresses of Charlemount and Mountjoy their distresses were completed, and such multitudes died of hunger, that the roads were every where encumbered with their unburied carcases; while the hideous resources adopted by many for a miserable prolongation of life are too shocking to be related. In the confusion of Tyrone's affairs, the two sons of John O'Nial, whom he had so long detained in prison, effected their escape to the deputy. Every day this vanquished leader was deserted by some followers; and his alliance was renounced by the new chief of Tyrconnel, Roderic, the brother of the fugitive Hugh O'Donnel, who submitted to government, and received the protection of Mountjoy.

Submission
of O'Nial.
1603.

In this forlorn state, O'Nial sued for pardon with sincerity; but the deputy was perplexed by the diversity of instructions received from the queen, which shewed the distracted state of her mind near the close of her life. Being at length privately assured of her death, he dispatched Sir William Godolphin to the rebel earl with a safe conduct, pressing

sing him to prevent his utter destruction by immediately surrendering his person, and accepting honourable conditions, which now might be given, but which, if not instantly accepted, might never be again attainable. O'Nial without loss of time repaired to the deputy at Mellifont, and on his knees in the most humble strain implored forgiveness. Subscribing to all the conditions imposed, he received a pardon for himself and his followers, and a new patent for his lands with some reservations. Attending the deputy to Dublin, and there informed of Elizabeth's decease, he burst into tears from grief at his precipitate submission; for if this event, wisely concealed by the deputy, had been known by him, he might have renewed the war with advantage; or at worst might have made a merit with the new sovereign by voluntarily submitting to his mercy on his accession to the throne. As a retreat was impossible, he pretended that affection for the departed princess, who had treated him with such clemency, was the cause of his tears; and he renewed in ample form his submission to her successor.

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With the surrendry of O'Nial ended all opposition to English government in Ireland, whose conquest was thus finally accomplished by the arms of Elizabeth, a most magnanimous and wise princess, who yet, from the necessity of exertions elsewhere, had neglected too long, almost to a fatal degree, the affairs of this kingdom. The loss of this country,

fo

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so important since to the British empire, was prevented not only by the abilities of Mountjoy and Carew, but also by the errors of the Spanish cabinet, whose preparations were too late, and the place of invasion ill chosen, Munster, a province then reduced to subjection, and far distant from the armies of Tyrconnel and Tyrone. Among the prudent measures of Irish administration in these critical times, was mildness in religious matters; for, notwithstanding the affected complaints of mal-content against heretical oppression, the laws enacted against recusants, persons refusing to conform to the protestant rites, or to take the oath of supremacy, lay dormant in Ireland; and, notwithstanding the poison of bigotry, most laboriously infused by sacerdotal emissaries from Rome and Spain, the armies of the queen were in great part composed of catholics, whose loyal conduct was honorable to themselves, and the religion which they professed, when unperverted for political ends. The reduction of this unfortunate island cost Elizabeth six hundred thousand pounds in six months in 1599, and almost three millions and a half in the last ten years; sums altogether enormous in that age, and in the then existing state of the English finances, when the *ordinary* revenue of the crown fell short of half a million yearly; and cost the country, which was the scene of war, perhaps the greater part of its population by sword, famine, and pestilence, the accounts of whose ravages, transmitted by writers
of

of undoubted veracity are horrible and appalling to human feelings: nor was this war unattended with rueful waste of English blood in a country then unfriendly, from the dampness of its air, its woods, and scanty culture, to English constitutions.

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C H A P.

C H A P. XIX.

Accession of James the first—Religious disturbances—Political regulations—Religious opposition—Flight of Tyrone and Tyrconnel—O'Dogherty's rebellion—Plantation of Ulster—Attention to the church—Religious discontents—Petition of recusant lords—First national parliament—Altercations—Convocation—Extension of plantations—Saint John's administration—State of the country—of the army and revenue—Spanish recruiting—Oppressions of plantations—Corruption of commissioners—Grievances from discoverers—Abuses of undertakers—Reflexions—Improvements—Customs—Scheme of plantation in Connaught—Death of James.

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Accession
of James
the first.
1603.

TO the great Elizabeth in the English throne succeeded, under the title of James the first, a descendant of Henry the seventh by a female line, James Stuart, king of Scotland, who thus united under one monarch the three distinct kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Of much erudition, though of so moderate an intellect as to descend to pedantry, and so weak in politics as to incur the contempt of European courts, James was fortunately fitted by his pacific talents for the task which had devolved on him in Ireland, the establishment of English polity throughout the whole country, and institutions for the reduction of its inhabitants into order and civilization. But the abilities of Mount-

joy

joy were still necessary in the beginning of this reign to prevent a renovation of troubles from religious fury, the instigators of which assured the people, in some places that James was a catholic, in others that he could not be a lawful king unless he had been established by the pope's authority, and had sworn to defend the catholic religion. CHAP.
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Seduced by such pestilent preachers, the inhabitants of several cities in Leinster, and of most in Munster, proceeded by their own authority to the re-establishment of the Romish worship in all its former pomp, ejecting the reformed ministers from their churches, and seizing the religious houses which had been converted to civil uses. The lord-deputy immediately marching southward to quell such seditious factions, and appearing before Waterford with his army, was refused admittance by the citizens, who alleged that by a charter from king John they were exempt from the quartering of soldiers; and they also declared, by the mouths of two ecclesiastics in the habits of their order, that they could not in conscience obey any sovereign who should persecute catholics. Mountjoy, having condescended to expose the falsehood of a quotation of these churchmen ~~from~~ Saint Austin in support of their doctrine, threatened to *cut in pieces the charter of John with the sword of James*, to demolish the city and strew it with salt. Terrified by the well-known spirit and abilities of this leader, the citizens immediately yielded and swore allegiance; and their example was without opposition followed by the inhabitants of Cashel, Clonmel, and other cities. Those of

Religious
disturbances.

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XIX.

of Cork, the most refractory, who had for some time declined to proclaim the king, and been blockaded by the royal forces, not without some bloodshed, surrendered at discretion on the arrival of the deputy, who, having executed some of the inferior agitators, treated the rest with lenity, among whom was Mead the recorder, acquitted by the manifest partiality of his jury.

Having published *an act of oblivion and indemnity*, to quiet the apprehensions of multitudes implicated in the late rebellion, and having by the same authority received the whole body of the Irish peasantry into the immediate protection of the crown, who had been mostly before abandoned to the despotism of their chiefs, Mountjoy, created lord lieutenant, and constituting Sir George Carew his deputy, returned to England accompanied by Hugh O’Nial earl of Tyrone, and by Roderic O’Donnel, the latter of whom was created earl of Tyrconnel, the former confirmed in his honours and estates. But this nobleman, who had so long baffled the arms of Elizabeth, was held in such detestation by the populace, on account of the deaths of so many of their friends caused by his rebellion, that he could not safely travel without a strong escort.

Political
regulations.

In the successive administration of Carew and Sir Arthur Chichester sheriffs were appointed to the several counties, itinerant judges performed their circuits, and the native Irish, now admitted to all the privileges of English subjects, were taught to regard the system of English polity in a favourable manner, when its execution was observed to be impartial and strict,

1604.

strict, very different from that mockery of justice with which they had before been too often insulted. By a *commission of grace* under the great seal of England, empowering the chief governor to receive the surrendry of estates, and to regrant them by a new and safe investiture in the English mode, a general revolution was effected in the rights of tenure; and great attention was given to the just claims of the several persons concerned in the arrangement of this business. Each lord by his new patent was invested only with the lands found to be in his immediate possession, while his followers were confirmed in their tenures, on condition only of their payment to him of a yearly rent equal to the value at which the uncertain duties, exacted from them by the old Irish customs, were estimated on close examination.

By the spirit of bigotry, whose violence can be restrained only by force, was the progress of political amelioration checked and retarded. Sacerdotal champions persisted strenuously to inculcate the opinion of the king's affection for the church of Rome, to denounce the vengeance of Heaven on all who should attend heretical worship, to order the repair of suppressed religious houses, and even to arraign the civil administration, to review causes determined in the king's courts, and to command the people, under pain of eternal perdition, to obey the decisions of their spiritual courts, not those of the civil law. Though James appears to have been secretly inclined to a temperate coalition of the churches of his realms with the Roman see, yet he cordially abhorred the doctrine of a civil power in the

Religious
opposition

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the pope over temporal princes, and of an authority in ecclesiastics above the laws of the state. A proclamation, commanding in Ireland, as in England, all popish clergy to leave the kingdom within a limited time, enraged the recusants, whose audacity was such that some of the principal citizens of Dublin and magistrates were fined and sent to prison. Instantly were all the old English families of the Pale in violent commotion, and presented a petition and remonstrance against such severities. The unusual concourse attending the presentment of this petition to the council, on the day in which intelligence arrived from England of the gunpowder treason, a plot for the destruction of the king and English parliament by the explosion of a mine, caused a suspicion that the catholic party here acted in concert with the conspirators of England. The chief petitioners were therefore confined in the castle, and Sir Patrick Barnewall, their chief agent, was by the king's command sent prisoner to London.

1606. No real severities however seem to have been put in practice, and, in the words of Leland, "the zeal of Sir Arthur Chichester ended where it should have begun, with an attempt to reform the established clergy, to enforce a particular attention to their duty, and to procure a translation of the scriptures and common prayer into the Irish language for the instruction of the ignorant natives." Yet religious rancour and designs of treason appear to have still

Flight of
O'Neil, &c.

continued to operate. By a letter dropped in the chamber of the Irish privy council intimation was given

given of a scheme of rebellion, formed by several northern chiefs, particularly the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, who were said to have solicited foreign aid, and to have planned the surprizal of the castle and assassination of the deputy. That in the then existing state of affairs, when success on rational grounds could not be expected, such a scheme should have been formed by these lords, seems really improbable; yet instantly on the first alarm they fled to the continent, abandoning their vast estates to the crown; nor has any colour of proof been produced by themselves or their friends in their vindication, which might doubtless have been, if any artifice had been put in practice to render them obnoxious to the law, while they were innocent of the crime. Some of their accomplices, found guilty on trial by jury, were executed; and, to guard against unfounded clamours of religious persecution, a royal proclamation was issued, in which his Majesty declared that, under pretence of subverting the English power in Ireland, these men had intended the extirpation of all his subjects in this country of English descent; that not even the shadow of molestation had been offered them; and that to persecute them on account of religion had never been intended; since to give trouble on this account would be unreasonable to men whose manners were so barbarously repugnant to christianity, that whether they had any religion at all, or not, was a doubtful matter.

1607.

Notwithstanding the flight of the two capital conspirators, the spirit of rebellion was fiercely displayed

O'Donoghue's
ty's insur-
rection.

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played in the insurrection of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, proprietor of Innishowen and the adjacent district, who treacherously inviting to his house the commander of Culmore near Derry, named Hart, and making him and his wife prisoners, gained admittance by the fears of the latter into that fortress, the gar-
 1608. rison of which he massacred; and, thence proceeding to Derry, performed a similar tragedy, burning the whole town, and hastening to attack other posts. On the approach of Wingfield, marshal of the army, he retired to the woods, whence he maintained an active war of skirmishes, till after the arrival of the lord-deputy with additional forces, when by an accidental shot an end was put to his life, and to this local rebellion, which had continued five months, with much bloodshed and more alarm.

Plantati-
ons.

By conspiracies and rebellions tracts of land containing about five hundred thousand acres, or almost eight hundred thousand of English measure, were forfeited to the crown in the six northern counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry, Armagh, and Tyrconnel, the last of which is now known only by the name of Donegal. Instructed by the errors committed by former colonizers, and advised by men of judgment, particularly Chichester, the king proceeded in a scheme of plantation, which fortunately was his favourite object, with such caution and activity, that, though failures and mistakes had place in many instances, the effects on the prosperity of this country were great and permanent. The persons, among whom were distributed the confiscated lands, were distinguished as new undertakers, servitors,

servitors, and old natives. The first were natives of Britain, and permitted to take only such for their tenants. The second, men who had some time served in Ireland, in stations military or civil, were allowed to choose any tenants, with exception only of recusants. The third were under no restrictions as to the religion or birth place of their tenantry, and were tacitly exempted from the oath of supremacy, by which the two former were bound. To the servitors were assigned situations of most danger, with guards and entertainment until the completion of the settlements; to the new undertakers the strongest and most commanding; to the old natives the most open and accessible, where, though dwelling separate from the rest, they might be subject to the inspection of their neighbours, and gradually habituated to agriculture and other branches of peaceful industry.

The lands assigned for distribution were divided into proportions of two thousand, fifteen hundred, and one thousand English acres; and these were distributed by lot under certain regulations. The proprietors were bound to the performance of a variety of stipulations, tending to the security and improvement of the country, and the civilization of the natives. Among these was an obligation to set their lands at determined rents, on leases for three lives, or twenty-one years at least. A yearly rent for the crown was reserved from all these lands, for every sixty acres from British undertakers six shillings and eight pence; from servitors ten shillings; from old natives thirteen and four pence. Much credit and encouragement accrued to undertakers from the city

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XIX.

of London, whose corporation, accepting large grants in the county of Derry, called from this transaction Londonderry, engaged to expend twenty thousand pounds on the plantation, to build Colerain, and to rebuild and amplify the city of Derry. But, as this body of men acted only by agents, they failed still more than other undertakers in the performance of their stipulations, particularly in their admission of old natives as tenants into districts, into which British colonists only should have been introduced by the terms of their engagements.

Attention
to the
church.

In the distribution of lands due attention was paid to the claims of the clergy, and the maintenance of religious establishments. All ecclesiastical lands were ordered to be restored to their respective sees and churches; and all to be deemed of this description, from which bishops had in former times received revenues. Compositions for church lands were commanded to be made with the patentee proprietors, who were to receive equivalents, if they compounded freely, otherwise to be deprived without requital. Bishops were obliged to resign to the incumbents of the several parishes the tythes which they had received as impropriate, for which they were amply compensated from the king's lands. Each proportion allotted to undertakers was made a parish with a church. To incumbents, beside their tythes and duties, were glebes assigned of from sixty to a hundred and twenty acres. Free schools were endowed in the principal towns, and large grants of land made to the university of Dublin, together with the ad-
vowson

nowson of six parochial churches, three of the largest, and three of the middle proportion, in each county.

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Religious
discontents.

Religious discontents were strongly displayed on the annunciation of a design to assemble a national parliament. Excluded, by their refusal to take the oath of supremacy, from the enjoyment of offices and promotions in the political system, the catholic nobles and gentry were much exasperated, notwithstanding that magistrates and lawyers, except in some extraordinary cases of insolence, were tacitly permitted to exercise their functions without being required to undergo this qualification; and notwithstanding that fines, imposed by law on non-conformists, were nowhere levied except in the county of Dublin, and there so slightly as not to exceed fifteen pounds in a year. But wounded pride was the real source of complaint; and, as Leland observes, "men, whose religious principles expose them to grievous disadvantages in society, are particularly bound to examine those principles with care and accuracy, lest they sacrifice the interests of themselves and their posterity to an illusion." But that indolence and acquiescence to which the errors of popery reduce the mind, added to the shame of deserting their communion, seem to have kept back these men from any advances toward conformity. It is scarcely possible but that a difference in religious opinions should lead directly to personal rancour and aversion, unless men's minds are fully possessed with the genuine spirit of christianity, or unless they have arrived at that indifference to religion (considered in any other light but as a political engine) which modern times

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have dignified with the name of philosophy. In the ordinary course of things we are not to expect that the first of these principles should have its perfect influence; and the latter was as yet unknown. Sects and systems of religion were matters of importance. The reformed looked with abhorrence on the partizans of idolatry and theimps of Antichrist: the romanists with equal rancour inveighed against heresy and apostacy, the blind ministers of Satan and the children of perdition."

Petition of
recufants.

1612.

In the convening of a parliament, representative of the whole kingdom, more numerous than had ever been known in Ireland, when seventeen new counties and a great number of boroughs had been formed, the recusants, apprehensive of unfavourable designs against them, and of the preponderance of royal influence with the new members for the accomplishment of these designs, exerted themselves with vigour to counteract such intentions. A petition was presented to his Majesty, signed by six principal lords of the English Pale, Gormanston, Slane, Killeen, Trimbleston, Dunsany, and Louth, praying that the creation of boroughs should be suspended, till by the wealth of traffic towns should arrive at a fit state for incorporation; assuring him that a repeal of the penal laws would fully confirm their minds in loyalty; expressing their apprehension of laws intended against catholics, since no communication on that subject had been vouchsafed to the nobility of that communion; and intimating that such proceedings would encourage the disaffected, and might be attended with danger to his government.

ment. This petition was pronounced rash and insolent by the king; but, not thereby discouraged, the English of the Pale made their utmost exertions by themselves and agents in all parts of the kingdom to procure in the new parliament a majority of catholics.

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Their hopes proved vain on the meeting of parliament, a meeting which caused much anxiety and expectation, as no such assembly had been convened for twenty-seven years, and as this was the first *national* parliament held in Ireland, all those of earlier times having been only *colonial*, or only representative of a part of the kingdom. Of two hundred and thirty-two members, returned for the house of commons, six were absent; and of the rest a hundred and twenty-five were protestants, while the recusants amounted only to a hundred and one. Of the lords, consisting of sixteen temporal barons; twenty-five protestant prelates, five viscounts, and four earls, a large majority was on the side of administration. The meeting of the commons was tumultuous; the recusants clamouring for an examination into the legality of elections of members whom they asserted to have been unduly returned; and afterwards, on a division of the house in the election of a speaker, placing in the chair the person for whom they voted, without regard to the majority on the opposite side, as they considered themselves to be the *legal* majority. The object of their choice was Sir John Everard, a respectable recusant, who had been a justice of the king's bench, had resigned rather than take the oaths of qualification,

First national parliament
1613.

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XIX.

cation, and had been indulged with a pension. Sir John Davies, the attorney-general, the object of the opposite party, was seated by force in the lap of the former, whom the party had endeavoured in vain to pull from the chair; and the scene of tumult was closed by the secession of the recusants, who refused to take any share in an assembly which they pronounced illegal and arbitrary. The recusant lords also seceded; and in the midst of a violent ferment, which seemed to menace even an armed opposition to authority, the lord-deputy, by whom Davies had been confirmed in the speaker's office, prorogued the parliament, to give time for the violence of passion to subside.

The lords Gormanston and Fermoy, Sir James Gough, and others, were sent by the recusants to lay before the king their supposed grievances, and a liberal subscription was raised to defray the charges of the deputation. Though two of these agents, Talbot and Lutterel, were for some piece of insolence committed to prison, their complaints were heard by James with so much temper, that they conceived the highest hopes of success; and Gough, having taken advantage of some favourable expression, declared on his return that his Majesty had promised to the catholics the free exercise of their religion, for which, as false and seditious news, he was committed prisoner to the castle by Chichester. The king, having procured ample information on the subject, by commissioners sent into Ireland, and from Chichester in person, admitted the recusants to plead their cause before the council, where, after a deliberate,

berate, repeated, and patient discussion, their allegations were finally pronounced groundless, except that the returns of burgesses from Kildare and Cavan were declared illegal, and that the members returned from those boroughs, which were created after the writs had already been issued, were judged for the present incapable of sitting. In a verbose oration, in his usual manner, the king expressed his disapprobation of the tumultuary and undutiful behaviour of the recusants, professing at the same time a disposition to shew them favour in case of their future good conduct and loyalty.

When the parliament at length met after repeated prorogations, the violence of party was moderated by the management of the deputy, and the prudence of some temperate recusants, particularly Everard, who presented a bill to the commons, which passed unanimously, for the attainder of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, and to others concerned in treasonable designs. An act of general amnesty and pardon was made in confirmation of the royal edict; all the steps taken by James for the reception of the old natives under law, and the abolition of odious distinctions between men of different blood inhabiting the same kingdom, received the full sanction of the legislature; and the session was closed with a bill of subsidy, granting to the king, his heirs, and successors, from every personal estate of the value of three pounds and upwards two shillings and eight pence in the pound; from aliens twice that sum; and out of every real estate of the value of twenty shillings

1614.

1615.

CHAP.
XIX.

lings and upwards four shillings in the pound; a grant so bountiful made with such alacrity, that James in a letter to Chichester declared himself much gratified, and his having cancelled from his memory the displeasure given him by their former conduct. Yet the alarming temper of the commons at their first meeting, and the disposition shewn by the recusants to make demands in religious matters, caused an unexpected dissolution.

Convoca-
tion.

At the same time with the sitting of parliament, was held in Dublin a convocation of the clergy, chiefly for the framing of a confession of faith for the established church of Ireland, which work was entrusted to Doctor James Usher, a man of eminent abilities and erudition, but so deeply tinctured with Calvinism, that his composition bore the stamp of its doctrines. His formulary, containing a hundred and four articles, was approved by the convention, ratified by the lord-deputy; and, though some of the articles were offensive to the king, his Majesty, from a sense of justice, promoted their compiler to the see of Meath.

New plan-
tations.

The discovery and suppression of a conspiracy in Ulster, the principals of which were executed, for the extirpation of the British planters, rather confirmed than discouraged the king in his plan of colonization. Of sixty-six thousand acres between the rivers Ovoca and Slaney, adjudged to the crown, sixteen thousand five hundred were destined for an English colony, the rest for the natives, on the same terms as in Ulster. In like manner three hundred and eighty-five thousand acres in the Queen's and King's counties, Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath, were allotted

1610.

allotted for distribution, mostly in regrants to the old proprietors in a permanent mode of tenure. But before the completion of this plan a new governor was appointed, Sir Oliver Saint-John, in place of Chichester, who was created baron of Belfast.

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The just and vigorous administration of this governor was odious to the recusants and the usurpers of ecclesiastical property. A proclamation, commanding the popish regular clergy to leave the kingdom, was in fact an act of indulgence to the poorer catholics, who were miserably oppressed by this useless tribe. But he required all officers of justice to take the oath of supremacy, and issued a commission to seize the liberties and revenues of Waterford, whose citizens had obstinately persisted in the choice of recusants for their chief magistrates. Compassionating the abject poverty of the clergy, whose lands were detained by some powerful members of the state, he had the magnanimity to oppose this usurpation, and thereby to augment to a most formidable pitch the host of his enemies. Violently traduced in foreign countries and to his sovereign, he was at length obliged to resign; but, as a proof of his esteem, the king, beside other titles, conferred on him those of lord high treasurer of Ireland and viscount Grandison. The recusants, exulting in their supposed victory, and powerful by their numbers, union, and property, proceeded in a course of insolence, seriously alarming to the friends of government, particularly when it was known that a Romish hierarchy, with a regular subordination of orders, offices, and persons, was established throughout the kingdom.

Saint John's
administration.

1617.

1621.

1622.

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XIX.

kingdom by the papal power, their jurisdiction exercised with as much regularity, and their decrees executed with as full authority, as if the sovereign pontiff were in actual possession of the realm.

State of the
country.

The miserable condition into which the military establishment had fallen left them without an immediate curb to check their presumption. To contribute to the defense of his Irish plantations James had instituted a new hereditary dignity, that of *baronet*, to be conferred on a number not exceeding two hundred, each of whom, on passing his patent, was to pay into the exchequer such a sum as would maintain thirty soldiers in Ulster for three years, at the daily wages of eight pence. By this contrivance might have been raised a fund for the support of six thousand men. But from the prodigality of this monarch and the too great parsimony of his English parliament, his finances were so low, that he reduced his Irish army to the contemptible number of thirteen hundred and fifty foot and two hundred cavalry. Even this exceeded the real number, as the companies were seldom complete; nor were the soldiers treated in such manner as to be fit for service, defrauded of their pay, permitted to supply their necessities by oppression, and scattered in small parties for the cultivation of the grounds, or attendance on the menial business, of their officers, who, being mostly men of great fortune and influence, were enabled by mutual connivance to proceed in base practices with impunity. This wretched establishment, so fraudulently conducted, cost the crown fifty-two thousand five hundred pounds a year, which exceeded

exceeded by above sixteen thousand pounds the annual revenue of the kingdom.

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In this defenseless condition of the country, much uneasiness was occasioned by a body of troops, recruited for the service of Spain, with the permission of James, who judged that to drain the kingdom of such a number of young men, unprovided with any regular means of subsistence, active, turbulent, and fit for dangerous attempts, would be a prudential measure. The officers, employed to raise and conduct these men to the continent, were the relatives or adherents of old rebels, attached to Hugh O'Nial's family, educated abroad in an extravagant pride of ancestry, and a rancorous hatred of English government. Their levies were soon filled, but they delayed their transportation; and, violating the orders and limits prescribed, ranged through various parts tumultuously to the annoyance and terror of the well affected, confirming the disloyal, spreading disaffection, and enticing abroad young persons above the age of twelve years, for education in foreign countries. On their approach to the capital, where after tedious delays they were very slowly embarked, some troops, insufficient for defence in case of hostility, were assembled to watch their motions till the danger was over.

Spanish
recruiting.

The danger was on good grounds alarming to persons acquainted with the general discontent, of which, though religion was made the chief pretext, causes more substantial subsisted, beside the disorders of an unpaid army. The scheme of plantation, however

Grievances
of plantation.

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XIX.

however necessary and laudable, could not be carried into extensive effect, even in the fairest mode of proceeding, without wounding the feelings and prejudices of many, who, intimidated into the surrendry of estates from a defect of proof in legal title, saw not clearly the justice, though they might the advantage, of losing a part for an undisputed tenure of the rest. But abuses were practised, cruelly unjust and oppressive, too various for a circumstantial detail. With a scandalous breach of trust, the commissioners, appointed to distribute lands, deprived the natives by fraud and violence of possessions reserved for them by command of the king, sometimes leaving them a pittance, sometimes no part at all, nor means of subsistence. In the words of Leland, "the resentments of such sufferers were in some cases exasperated by finding their lands transferred to hungry adventurers, who had no services to plead; and sometimes to those who had been rebels and traitors. Neither the actors nor the objects of such grievances were confined to one religion. The most zealous in the service of government, and the most peaceable conformists, were involved in the ravages of avarice and rapine, without any distinction of principles or professions."

The chief cause of perturbation and widely felt grievance arose from a description of men termed *discoverers*, who obtained commissions of inquiry into defective titles, and grants of concealed lands, and rents belonging to the crown, the chief benefit of which was generally to accrue to the discoverer, while

while the king was to rest satisfied with an inconsiderable proportion of the property concealed, or a small advance of rent. After so many ages of turbulence, anarchy, confused fluctuation of landed possessions, suspension and even oblivion of demands and payments of reserved rent to the crown, few titles were impregnable to the chicane and subtilty of law; so that the possessors were mostly obliged to make new compositions on such terms as they could procure. Yet, as the same historian has observed from indubitable authority, "proofs are not wanting of the most iniquitous practices, of hardened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation, employed to despoil the fair and unoffending proprietor of his inheritance." An abuse less irritating to the natives, but pernicious to the general system, as admitting individuals to a dangerous pitch of power, was an enormous disproportion in the acquisition of lands, to which James, from his prodigal disposition to favourites, had himself given countenance, contrary to his own rules, by the investment of Sir Arthur Chichester with the territory of Innishowen and all the lands formerly possessed by O'Dogherty. Violating the express restrictions of their patents, some undertakers clandestinely alienated their lands, and others purchased, who, by this and other means, acquired such property and influence as the king by his regulations had intended to prevent.

That no insurrection was attempted amid all the violence of religious rancour, and so many grievous irritations, when no military force of the least efficacy was

Reflections.

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XIX.

was maintained for the support of government, is doubtless a proof of the complete conquest of the island by the arms of Elizabeth, and of much merit, notwithstanding their great abuses, in the regulations of James. The new colonists from Britain formed in some degree a barrier against mal-content. Of the natives, who had acquired permanent freeholds, and were by English law freed from their slavish dependence on their lords, many were too sensible of the advantage to wish a return of the former state of things. The products of industry, whose benefits were perceived by some, were in such progression, that commerce had begun to afford a revenue; the customs having gradually increased from fifty pounds to near ten thousand annually. So little inclination to oppose the royal authority appeared, that the lords and gentlemen of Connaught, including the county of Clare, submitted to the offer of a heavy composition for a fault not their own. These, having surrendered their estates in the reign of Elizabeth, but neglected in general the enrollment and the reception of their patents, renewed the ceremony in the thirteenth year of James, when their patents received the great seal; but, by a neglect of the officers, the enrollment was not made in chancery, although three thousand pounds had been disbursed for that purpose. Taking advantage of this default, the king's commissioners pronounced the titles defective, and the lands vested still in the crown; and they recommend a western plantation similar to that of Ulster. The proprietors, in great alarm,

alarm, offered for a new confirmation of their patents to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to double their annual composition. The proposal was treated with attention by James, who, having entered into war with Spain, might apprehend an invasion from that country ; but the business, interrupted by his death, devolved on Charles the first, his son and successor.

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1625.

C H A P.

C H A P. XX.

Accession of Charles the first—Religious intolerance—Offer of a contribution—Royal graces—Religious disturbances—Wentworth chief governor—Arrogance, &c.—A parliament—Servility of the commons—Dignified conduct of Ormond—Laws—Convocation—Ecclesiastical affairs—Project of a plantation in Connaught—Violences of Wentworth—Sir Piers Crosby—Lord Mountnorris—Chancellor Loftus—Proceedings of Wentworth's administration—Linen manufacture—Precautions of Wentworth—New oath—Military exertions—Wentworth created earl of Strafford, &c.—A parliament—Loyalty of peers and commons—New army—Change of parliamentary sentiments.

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Accession
of Charles
the first.
1625.

1626.

IN the year 1625, was the accession of Charles the first to the kingdoms of his father, a prince unfortunate in his prime favourite, George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, by whose mere personal caprices his realms were involved in foreign wars; and unfortunate in an obstinate pride and a disingenuous conduct, by which he lost all credit with his subjects together with their affections. By a temper and talents very different from those of Charles could the affairs of the British islands be happily conducted, when, beside other causes of threatening fermentation, an intolerant fanaticism prevailed in opposite sects of the christian denomination. The spirit of intolerance was perhaps no where higher than among the people of Ireland, where the catho-
lics,

lies received, with a reverence due only to divine revelation, a bull of pope Urban the eighth, exhorting them rather to suffer death than to take the pestilent oath of supremacy, whereby, as his Holiness blasphemously asserted, *the sceptre of the Catholic church was wrested from the hand of the vicar of God Almighty*: while, on the other side, the puritanic protestants, who, affecting excessive purity, departed to an opposite extreme, declared, and their declaration was sanctioned by an assembly of Irish prelates convened by primate Usher, that to tolerate popery was a sin of a grievous kind, since the tolerators rendered themselves accessory to *idolatry, abomination, and the perdition of souls, which perished in the deluge of catholic apostacy*: Among the protestant clergy were puritans, who, refusing episcopal ordination, were indulged by the bishops with a form not strictly canonical; and such latitude was allowed, that churches and tythes were enjoyed by ministers who used not the liturgy, but officiated in the presbyterian manner, and avowed themselves of that communion.

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1625.

Engaged in a war with Spain, and fearing attempts from that quarter in Ireland, the king resolved to augment his army in this island to five thousand infantry and five hundred horse; but not having money to pay them, he ordered them to be quartered on the several counties and towns, where the inhabitants were to supply them with clothes, provisions, and other necessaries, for three months at each place in turn. Lord Faulkland, the deputy, who had succeeded Saint-John, sent letters to the several

Offer of
contribu-
tion.

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communities,

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communities, recommending a chearful submission, promising that the usual composition should be suspended, and that other graces should be granted by his Majesty, by which this expense should be amply compensated. After a conference of the principal nobility and gentry, mostly catholics, with the chief governor, agents were dispatched, with his consent, to the English court, and an offer made of a voluntary contribution of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be paid in three years, forty thousand each year, divided into equal quarterly disbursements. This offer was accepted, and the solicited graces conferred by the king, who transmitted them as instructions to the governor and council. These graces, favourable in some instances to recusants, were, in general, such as reason, equity and national utility required.

Graces.

The royal instructions on this occasion extended to the removal of oppressions and abuses in various departments, as in the military and financial, in civil and ecclesiastical courts, and restrictions on commerce. A detail of these would give more weariness than information to the reader; yet one for its oddness, not its magnitude, may be instanced. The use of short ploughs, attached to the tails of horses, had been by parliament interdicted under a penalty of ten shillings yearly on each plough. Careful not to abolish the barbarous custom, but thence to draw emolument, the king's officers had contrived to render it a subject of taxation, the chief part of which accrued to themselves. The penalty was therefore annulled, and the pernicious practice referred

ferred to a future parliament. By some of the principal articles the subjects were secured in the possession of their lands, by a limitation of the king's title to sixty antecedent years, and a renunciation of all claims of an earlier period: the inhabitants of Connaught were admitted to secure their titles from future litigation by a new enrollment of their patents; recusants were permitted to practise in the courts of law on their oath, instead of that of supremacy; to defend the king as their legitimate sovereign; and a parliament was to be summoned for the passing of an act of general and free pardon, and for a confirmation of their several estates to all proprietors and their heirs.

In the last article the king seems to have given an early instance of duplicity. For the convening of a parliament on the third of the following November, the day explicitly appointed by his Majesty, writs were issued by lord Faulkland, without a certification of causes and considerations previously necessary by the law of Poynings; an omission which rendered the writs illegal, and prevented the meeting of a parliament. The irregularity might easily have been remedied by the appointment of another day, and the issuing of new writs in a legal form; yet, notwithstanding that no step for this end was taken, a general satisfaction was expressed, and the contribution cheerfully made, as the king stood engaged, and his insincerity was not then known. But the zeal of the catholics was intemperate and alarming, instigated by ecclesiastics from foreign seminaries, who had bound themselves by oath to make

1624.

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their utmost exertions for the papal authority against all opponents, and acted under the orders of the congregation *de Propagandâ fide* lately erected at Rome. Impelled by the remonstrances of protestant zealots, the chief governor issued a proclamation forbidding the exercise of Popish rites. This, though intended for nothing further than a mere verbal matter of form, gave such offence to the recusant party, that they murmured at the burden of their voluntary contribution; and the king, to appease their discontent, agreed to accept five thousand, instead of ten thousand pounds, in each quarterly payment, till the discharge of the whole subsidy. Lord Faulkland, as an unsuccessful governor, was recalled; and the administration was committed to two lords justices, Adam Loftus, lord viscount Ely, and Richard Boyle, earl of Cork.

1629.

Religious
disturbances

The king's disapprobation of measures taken by these governors to check the zeal of the recusants augmented the boldness of this numerous party, of which a specimen was quickly given. A fraternity of Carmelites, in the proper habits of their order, assembled a multitude of people to the performance of religious rites in one of the most frequented parts of Dublin, in defiance of the law. A body of troops, led by the archbishop and the chief magistrate to disperse the assembly, was furiously repulsed and put to flight by the multitude. Such violence excited the resentment of the English cabinet, by whose order fifteen religious houses were seized to the king's use, and a Romish college, which had been erected in the capital, was assigned to the university for

for a place of protestant education. Charles had, by a treaty of peace with France and Spain, terminated a war which he had undertaken without rational motives and prosecuted without glory. Though he might therefore be less apprehensive of the power of any malcontents in Ireland, yet the maintenance of a military force in this island was still necessary; and, by the advice of Thomas, lord viscount Wentworth, appointed lord-deputy, he took measures to obtain a continuance of the voluntary contribution. By threatening to abridge the promised *graces*, and to levy fines for non-conformity, he prevailed for a subsidy of twenty thousand pounds, payable in one year in four equal quarterly sums. 1632

With a firmly established opinion that the inhabitants of Ireland, as a conquered kingdom, were destitute of political rights, dependent solely, all without distinction, on the royal grace for whatever they were permitted to enjoy, and, on account of their turbulence, fit only to be ruled with despotic rigour, the austere and imperious, but active and sagacious, lord Wentworth, entered in person on the Irish administration in the year 1633. In the convening of a council he summoned only some of the members, an omission mortifying to the rest; and little less mortification was given to those who were assembled; for he suffered them to wait some hours before he deigned to make his appearance; and even then, instead of conferring on the business for which they had been summoned, he only charged the judges to represent in their several circuits the favour offered by the king to such as would repair their

Wentworth chief governor. 1633.

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their defective grants, and to satisfy the protestants that the charge for the support of the royal forces was absolutely necessary for their defence. After such a specimen of his administration, the council, when it was a second time convened to deliberate for a relief of the king's necessities, was reserved, and averse to the continuation of the contribution beyond the present year : but he proudly informed the members, that he had convened them, not from necessity, but to give them an opportunity to shew their loyalty ; and that, at the peril of his head, he would undertake to provide a maintenance for the king's army without their assistance. According to his dictation, they agreed to the offer of another year's contribution, and petition for the speedy convention of a parliament, in both of which the whole body of the people, influenced by their example, readily concurred.

A parliament.
1634.

The king, though averse to a parliamentary meeting, acquiesced in the opinion, and relied on the dexterity of Wentworth, a part of whose plan was to balance the catholic and protestant parties against each other in the lower house, and to practise privately with each. The established custom of convening and consulting the lords of the Pale on the time, circumstances, and business of the convention of a parliament previously to its being summoned, was by the deputy contemptuously neglected ; and when the earl of Fingal, deputed by these lords, reminded him of this custom, he rejected the overture with disdain and an indecent reprimand. At the deliberation of the council on the causes and consider-

considerations, and bills to be transmitted, previously to the parliamentary session, according to the law of Poynings, when the members appeared disinclined to adopt the mode prescribed by him, he interrupted their consultations, informing them that their duty required them to consider, not what might please the people, but what might be so agreeable to the king as to induce him to call a parliament; and he gave them plainly to understand that, if sufficient supplies for his Majesty's service should not be granted by parliamentary donation, he would proceed to levy them by right of the royal prerogative, at the head of the army, from those who could best afford it, and who as yet had paid very little. Shamefully intimidated by his dictatorial style and menaces, the council yielded to all the measures which he had proposed.

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On the meeting of parliament, very liberal supplies were unanimously voted by the commons, who were so humbly devoted to the chief governor, that when Sir Robert Talbot was betrayed, in the warmth of debate, into some unguarded reflexions on his conduct, he was instantly expelled, and committed to prison until he should implore the viceroy's pardon on his knees. As a servile spirit is also mostly tyrannical, so the commons displayed symptoms of both in their conduct; for, when one of their members had been affronted, they instantly commanded the sheriff of Dublin to inflict corporal punishment on the offender. The lords, though they concurred in the granting of supplies with the commons, displayed a nobler spirit. The young earl of Ormond

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Ormond in particular intimidated by his bold and steady conduct the arrogance of the deputy. In consequence of an order of the chief governor, that no person should enter either house of parliament with a sword, the usher of the black rod, attending at the door of the house of lords, insisted on Ormond's compliance with the regulation, who positively refused, with a declaration that, if he must deliver his sword, the usher should receive it in his body; and then proceeded to his seat with an air of offended dignity. Summoned before the council to answer for this contempt of authority, the earl avowed his intentional disobedience of the order, and added that he had received the investiture of his earldom *per cincturam gladii*, and was both entitled and bound by the royal command to attend his duty in parliament *gladio cinctus*. After some deliberation whether he should attempt to crush or to reconcile this daring spirit, Wentworth determined on the latter; and Ormond soon appeared a particular favourite at the Irish court.

Though some of their number were intimidated, particularly the earl of Kildare, who was obliged to make a submission after some attempts to oppose the deputy's measures, and even to complain of him at the English court, the peers acted in general with spirit, complaining loudly of grievances, and pressing offensively for the performance of the royal promise in confirmation of the *graces*. They even proceeded, without regard to the provisions of Poyn-
ing's statute, to order the attorney-general to reduce into writing several laws, on which they had de-
bated,

bated, in the form of acts, for transmission into England. Against this the lord-deputy entered a formal protest, declaring that to give orders for the framing of acts to pass in parliament belonged solely to the chief governor and council; and that the lords had in this case no further power, than to submit to the judgment of the chief governor and council such public considerations as they might think expedient, by remonstrance and petition. The session closed with little appearance of resentment against this protest among the peers, between whom and the commons much coldness had prevailed, from the neglect of a committee of the latter to attend a conference.

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One of the measures which had been enforced by Wentworth, was that two distinct sessions should be held, for both of which the royal promise should be engaged; the first for providing for the army and the debts of the crown; the second for the enacting of laws and graces for the benefit of the subjects. But when his aim was once accomplished with respect to subsidies in the first session, he spoke evasively of the graces in the second, and even absolutely refused two of the most material; the limiting of the king's title to sixty years, and the passing of new patents for estates in Connaught and the county of Clare. The recusants were offended by two acts of a very beneficial nature to the public in general, for the prevention of fraudulent feoffments and other artifices which had been invented by them, and by which the king had been defeated of his wardship of minors and custody of their lands; lords

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lords of their rights and aids; widows of their dowers; and widowers of their tenancies by courtesy. With less offence or opposition on any side were several other laws enacted for the general improvement of the country and its inhabitants, one of which was the adoption of the most valuable of the English statutes established since the reign of Henry the seventh. An act of general and free pardon was followed by a dissolution; and where provisions for the public advantage had been prevented by the opposition of the recusants, the deputy, in the high strain of prerogative, determined to supply the defect by an act of state. But even his own interest had failed in the support of a petition of both houses to his Majesty for the establishment of a mint in Ireland, a measure opposed by the English council, either from an illiberal spirit, or some better cause not well understood.

Ecclesiastical
affairs.

Among the acts of this parliament were laws for the restitution of rights withheld from the clergy, and for the prevention of all future alienations of their property. A convocation, sitting at the same time, granted eight subsidies to the king, and solicited redress of grievances. By fraudulent practices in various forms the established clergy had been reduced to a miserable state of poverty, and a consequent vulgarity and corruption of manners, which occasioned a recorded sarcasm of an Irishman, that *the king's priests were as bad as those of the pope*. Wentworth had been zealous to correct abuses of such evil tendency by the providing of churches, of able ministers, and of revenues for their support by the

the restitution of property usurped from the ecclesiastical establishment. A great usurper of such property was Robert Boyle, earl of Cork, who yet in other respects (such is human inconsistency !) was a man of liberal spirit and generous attention to the public welfare, an instance of which was the establishment of a numerous and well-regulated colony of English protestants on his own lands ; and was also a strenuous enemy to the Romish religion on account of the barbarism with which it was commonly accompanied. From him the chief governor forced the restitution of tythes to the church, of the annual value of two thousand pounds. The university of Dublin was improved by a new code of statutes, drawn by the archbishop of Canterbury, who had performed the same service for that of Oxford. To bring the Irish church to a conformity with the English, the articles compiled by Usher were silently abrogated by the substitution of those of the English church ; and, to prevent opposition, the canons of the latter were not introduced in a body, but a collection made of such as might be most acceptable. Though the convocation submitted to the reception of these articles and canons, without the public avowal of dissent by more than one member, they were actually displeasing to many of the clergy. At once to support and restrain the ecclesiastical courts, and for other purposes, particularly the encrease of the royal revenue, a court of high commission, after the dissolution of parliament, was established in Dublin, with the same tremendous powers as that of England.

In

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Project
of plantati-
on.
1635.

In open violation of the royal promise the lord-deputy next proceeded to the project of a western plantation, for which purpose he was determined to subvert the title of every estate in every part of Connaught. Having employed the ingenuity of lawyers for this end, he proceeded to the county of Roscommon, as the inhabitants of Leitrim had consented to the surrendry of their lands; and, having opened his commission, he submitted the evidences for the king's title to a jury composed of the principal men of the county. At the head of the commissioners of plantation, he informed the jury that the scheme was intended for the real advantage of their country, and that the king's title to the lands would be established by another mode of procedure, if their verdict should be unfavourable. Intimidated by the menaces and determinate character of Wentworth, the jurors found a title for the king without hesitation, and their example was followed by the inhabitants of Mayo and Sligo. But in the county of Galway, where the gentry were privately encouraged by Uliac de Burgo, earl of Clanricard and Saint-Albans, a man of excellent character, then resident in London, and openly supported by recusant lawyers who pleaded boldly, a verdict could not be procured in favour of the king; which so enraged the lord-deputy, that he laid a fine of a thousand pounds on the sheriff, and bound the obstinate jurors to answer for their offense in the castle chamber, where each was fined four thousand pounds, and sentenced to imprisonment until the fine should be paid, and to the acknowledgement of their offense in court upon their knees.

The

The violence of the chief governor was not confined to the support of the royal prerogative, but extended to those from whom he supposed any personal offence to have arisen to himself. Sir Piers Crosby, a soldier of distinguished bravery, colonel of a regiment, and a member of the Irish privy council and parliament, being sequestered from the council board, and charged with a violation of his oath in having voted in parliament against some bills to which he had previously assented in council, complained by petition, and requested licence to repair to England, as if with intention to appeal to his Majesty. He was refused, removed by order of the king entirely from the privy council, committed to prison, and prosecuted in the castle chamber for a libel published against the deputy on the occasion, of which no proof could be found against Crosby, though his papers had been forcibly seized for that purpose. When Wentworth affected to interpose for the royal pardon in his favour, Charles commanded the offender to be left to the censure of a court composed of the deputy's obsequious ministers, who decreed such enormous damages, that, to save himself from total ruin, Crosby was obliged to make a most humiliating submission.

Still worse was the treatment of Francis Annesley, who had come into Ireland in the reign of James, had acquired a fortune, and been created baron Mountnorris. In a private company at the lord chancellor's, a few days after the dissolution of parliament, mention was made of a hurt received by the lord-deputy in his foot, while he was afflicted with

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Violence
of Went-
worth.

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with a gout, by the awkwardness of one of the attendants in the removing of a seat. Mountnorris, one of the company, being told that the offender was of his name and kindred, replied that perhaps the gentleman had given designedly the hurt in return for an affront received from the chief governor; but, added he, the gentleman has a brother who would not have taken *such a revenge*. Informed of this expression after an interval of some months, Wentworth, actuated by a previous antipathy, ordered the baron, as a captain in the king's service, to be tried by a court-martial in which himself presided as general. The obsequious court unanimously concurred in a sentence against him as a mutineer, that he should be imprisoned, incapable of serving his Majesty, and shot or beheaded at the pleasure of the lord-deputy. That the accused was not respectable in his private character, and that, by the intercession of the chief governor with his Majesty, the sentence of death was not executed, was a mean apology, when, by an ignominious condemnation on fictitious grounds, he was deprived of all his offices, and suffered the anguish of a long confinement.

1636.

Wentworth, having repaired to England to lay the state of his administration before the king and council, and having received his Majesty's warm approbation, returned with resolution to continue the same course. Sir John Giffard, married to a daughter of lord chancellor Loftus, refused by his father-in-law some settlement of fortune claimed by him, applied by petition to the privy council, where sentence was pronounced in his favour. The procedure

sure was illegal ; the sentence dictated doubtless by the deputy, who was understood to maintain a criminal intercourse with the wife of Giffard ; Loftus refused obedience ; he was immediately sequestered from the council, deprived of the great seal, and committed to prison. The injustice was so manifest that Loftus was encouraged to appeal to the throne. But from the arbitrary Charles no justice in such a case could be obtained ; and Loftus could not otherwise recover his former office, nor even liberty, without a most humble submission, and acknowledgement of his offence.

Notwithstanding all the violence and artifice of the deputy, the terror of his power, and his eagerness to raise money for the royal service, he failed in his design of a western plantation, from which he had expected great sums to accrue. Proceed-
ing: of
Went-
worth. Though, after solemn argumentation, judgment was finally pronounced in favour of the king, the scheme was abandoned, on account of the alarming discontents thereby occasioned, more alarming by the troubles which were encreasing in England. But money was raised elsewhere to a large amount by fines, on renewals of letters patent, and grants for plantations. Thus fifteen thousand pounds from the possessions of the O'Byrns in Wicklow were levied on the finding of the royal title ; and from the city of London, sued for breach of covenants in the plantations of Derry and Colerain, was exacted a fine of seventy thousand pounds. The constant revenue was also much improved, the money well applied for the public service, and a sum reserved for extraordinary occasions. The army was well disciplined, regularly paid,

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paid, preserved in good condition, inoffensive to the peaceable subjects, and formidable to the enemies of government. Wentworth was a tyrant, but his tyranny was tempered with wisdom. Sensible how much the power and glory of a monarch depend on the prosperity of his people, he was so assiduously attentive to the peace, intellectual improvement, and industry of the Irish, that, though individuals often felt the arrogance of his temper, the nation in general had reason to be grateful for the benefits arising from the vigour of his administration. The church was improved in its revenue and in the respectability of its ministers. Protected by a strictness before unknown in the execution of English law, unusual numbers, and with unusual attention, applied their thoughts to pursuits of industry, the consequences of which appeared in the rising value of lands, the augmented quantity of products for exportation, and such an encrease of commerce that the shipping of Ireland was multiplied a hundred fold. For the encouragement of traffic, this deputy, so zealous for the promotion of the power and revenue of his master, used his influence for the abolition of oppressive duties on the importation of coals and horses into Ireland, and on the exportation of live cattle.

Linen
Manufac-
ture.

By Wentworth's endeavours a manufacture of linen cloth was established in Ulster. A nascent fabrication of woollen drapery was discouraged, lest it should come into competition with that of England, and for the purpose that Ireland should be dependant on that country for the clothing of its inhabitants,
and

and consequently less prone to a political separation. To make amends for this injustice, the deputy exerted himself so strenuously for the encouragement of linen, that he took a share in the enterprise at the expence, according to his own statement, of thirty thousand pounds from his private fortune. As flax had been long known to thrive in this country, and many of the women were spinners, hopes of success were early conceived. Flaxseed was brought from Holland; weavers, from several parts of the Low countries and from France; looms were fabricated; and regulations framed for the prevention of defects in the cloth by fraud or negligence. Experience has proved the propriety of the plan, since this manufacture, notwithstanding its interruption in its infancy by a desolating civil war, became in time the principal support of the wealth of Ireland.

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The just apprehensions of an excitement of disorders in Ireland by a communication with Scotland, where a formidable war had arisen against the king, excited all the activity of Wentworth. While he was framing a new oath of loyalty for the Scots of Ulster, some principal inhabitants of that province arrived in Dublin, who requested admission to give such a test of attachment to their sovereign. This oath, by which they promised allegiance to the king, an abhorrence of the proceedings of malcontents in Scotland, and an abjuration of all covenants contrary to the tenour of their present obligation, was imposed on persons of all ranks, ages, and sexes, with so rigorous enforcements, that those who refused it were fined and imprisoned with, as is asserted;

Precautions of Wentworth.
1639.

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horrid circumstances of cruelty. In the military and financial departments the chief governor acted with his utmost vigour. He sent from the Irish exchequer thirty thousand pounds to the king : he reinforced the army with four hundred horse : he transported five hundred men, under a brave officer named Willoughby, into England to garrison Carlisle : he furnished magazines with arms and ammunition for ten thousand foot and a thousand cavalry : he defeated a plot for the delivery of Carrickfergus castle to the insurgents of Scotland ; he executed the chief agent of the conspiracy, augmented the garrison, and ordered the main body of the forces to assemble at this place on account of its situation with respect to Scotland.

A parlia-
ment.
1640.

Summoned to England to assist by his advice, Wentworth was created earl of Strafford, a knight of the garter, and confirmed in his place of chief governor by the more honourable title of lord lieutenant. An Irish parliament, summoned by his direction, had assembled two days before his return to Dublin. The zeal of loyalty expressed by this parliament was not exceeded even by that of Strafford. With unusual unanimity four entire subsidies were voted by the commons, with the highest encomiums on his Majesty's goodness in having given them so excellent a chief governor, of all whose acts they expressed their unqualified approbation in the warmest manner. And afterwards when the king by letter signified to the two houses his apprehensions of being obliged, if the Scots should not submit, to request two additional subsidies, they declared with
equal

equal unanimity, that “ they were ready to support his Majesty in all his great occasions with their persons and estates, which they prayed their governor to represent to the king, that it might be recorded as an ordonnance of parliament, and published as a testimony to the world, that, as the kingdom had the happiness to be governed by the best of kings, so they were desirous to be accounted the best of subjects.” The peers were determined not to be surpassed in loyalty by the commons, and they published a separate declaration of the same import.

Enabled, as he supposed, by such liberality, Strafford issued orders for the levy of a new army. To Christopher Wandesford, his deputy and friend, he committed the charge of the raising of subsidies, and to the earl of Ormond that of the forces, while himself repaired to England to assist his royal master. A body of eight thousand catholics, officered by protestants, was raised with surprizing expedition, and augmented by a thousand protestant soldiers drafted from the old army. The whole, consisting of eight thousand infantry and a thousand horse, assembled in gallant order at Carrickfergus. But, says Leland, “ to the astonishment of those who had seen the late loyal disposition of the Irish commons, who had relied on the liberality of their grants, and the zeal of their professions, the subsidies, by which this army was to be supported, were reluctantly and scantily supplied. A new spirit seemed to have suddenly actuated the subjects of Ireland. They who had but just now devoted their lives and possessions to the service of the *best of kings*, grew cold, suspicious, and querulous. They complained

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of the grievous weight of those four subsidies, which they had declared was but the earnest of their beneficence. They objected to the rates of assessment, the same which had been used in the late parliament. A general combination was formed through the kingdom to prevent the levying of any money, until a new manner of taxation should be settled by the present parliament, or, in other words, *until they should utterly annul and rescind the late money-bill, enacted with such remarkable zeal and unanimity.*" Such tergiversation in the national representatives is so far from appearing strange to persons much conversant in political history, that a contrary conduct in them, when the king had once become dangerously embarrassed, would have been really surprizing. As the unqualified adulators of imperious rulers are never sincere, they must be supposed always ready, when opportunity allows, to become their avowed enemies. Such an opportunity was now beginning to open to the parliament of Ireland from the turn which affairs had taken in the great sister island.

C H A P. XXI.

Retrospect of British affairs—Affairs of Scotland—Abolition of episcopacy by the Scottish covenanters—Their war with the king—Long parliament—Proceedings of the Irish parliament—Committees—Death of Wandesford—Lords justices—Remonstrance—Defence of the lords' privileges—Queries to the judges—Impeachments—Concessions of the king—Protestation—Resolutions of the commons—Recusants and puritans' coalition—Spanish levies—Sham plot—Designs of rebellion—Causes of discontent—Heber Mc-Mahon—Resolutions of insurrection—Leaders of rebellion—Roger Moore, &c.—Their proceedings—Discouragement by the Pale—Their plans—Their different views.

CHARLES the first had, in the beginning of his reign, forfeited all respectability of personal character in the eyes of his subjects, by suffering himself to be so completely governed by the duke of Buckingham, as even to sacrifice the peace of his kingdoms in a war with France and Spain to the caprices of this frivolous favourite. For the support of hostilities unjustly commenced, and ingloriously prosecuted, the parliament refused supplies. A revenue was raised by the sole virtue of the royal prerogative without consent of parliament; and to the indignation of the people at being made victims to the puerile

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puerile passions of a worthless minion was added the apprehension of a plan laid for the destruction of their political freedom. Actuated by national discontent, and by private resentment for the refusal of a promotion which he merited, lieutenant Felton, an Irishman of intrepid courage and puritannic fanaticism, assassinated the duke, in the full persuasion that he thereby performed an act of great benefit to the public, and meritorious even in a religious view. Though, after the removal of this bad minister, the king seemed less inclined to violent councils, yet still on one side continued distrust, on the other arbitrary acts of government. Religion became intimately blended with the politics of this period. As the clergy of the established church preached passive obedience and the indefeasible right of kings to absolute rule, the doctrines of the puritans, which inclined to calvinism, and favoured civil as well as religious liberty, became very popular. Notwithstanding discontents, however, affairs might have long remained in the same state in England, if a way to revolution had not been laid open by the fanaticism of the Scots.

Affairs of
Scotland.

On the subversion of the Roman catholic establishment in Scotland, the calvinistical or presbyterian worship and ecclesiastical government were adopted by the mass of the Scottish people. Yet the bishops and abbots, though stripped of their revenues, retained still a temporal jurisdiction as members of the Scottish parliament. James the first, even before his accession to the English throne, had endeavoured to extend the power of the prelates, and, after that
accession,

accession, to introduce even some of the ceremonies of the English church into the Scottish worship, vainly hoping ultimately to effect a uniformity in the churches of South and North Britain. The same plan was pertinaciously pursued by his successor Charles, who, having succeeded in the establishment of prelatical jurisdiction, proceeded to the introduction of the English canons and liturgy. The canons were promulgated in 1635; and in 1637 was made the attempt to force on the Scots the reception of a liturgy differing very little from that of England. The attempt was tumultuously opposed by the lower classes, whose conduct was soon abetted by the higher. The nobles envied the growing power of the prelates, and were apprehensive of being called to account for the lands usurped at the reformation from the episcopal sees. The ministers and people held the Romish religion in unspeakable abhorrence, and apprehended that their submission to a conformity with the church of England would be a step toward the re-establishment of popery, which they suspected to be secretly intended by their sovereign. Fears were also entertained that the king designed the abolition of their civil rights, since the canons represented the royal authority as altogether unlimited.

The king persevered. His proclamation was encountered by a protestation signed by some nobles. The government was assumed, with amazing regularity, by an assembly of nobles, gentry, clergy, and burghesses, at Edinburg. A *covenant* was eagerly subscribed by persons of both sexes, all ages and ranks, consisting

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consisting of a most virulent renunciation of popery, and a bond of union, by which the subscribers bound themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend one another against every opposition whatsoever. Charles was at length alarmed, and repeatedly made concessions. The covenanters rose in their demands in proportion to the encreasing condescension displayed in his offers. By a general assembly episcopacy was abolished, and the whole fabrick at once annihilated, which James and Charles had been rearing so many years with so much solicitude. For the defense of their system the malcontents levied a well-appointed army, and made many other preparations for war. With twenty-eight thousand men the king advanced, in the year 1639, to attack the Scots, not inferior in number, and actuated by an ardent spirit of religious enthusiasm. Doubtful of the issue, he agreed to a treaty of pacification, the withdrawing of his troops, and the summoning of a general assembly and a parliament. The resolutions of the general assembly were disagreeable to his Majesty; and he dissolved the parliament when it was proceeding to ratify these resolutions. Both parties flew to arms; but Charles, finding himself unable to support his troops by means of his prerogative, was obliged to convene an English parliament in 1640, after eleven years intermission of this assembly. Such was the operation of the public distrust on the members of this body, that no subsidy could be obtained for the king's necessities until the national grievances should previously be discussed; a mode of proceeding which irritated the monarch,

monarch, and impelled him rashly to pronounce its dissolution.

By money voted by the convocation of clergy, by private loans, and other means, Charles with difficulty procured a temporary maintenance for his troops; but the Scots, entering earlier into action, and passing into England, repulsed the advanced guard of the royal army at the river Tyne, which caused the latter to retreat southward into Yorkshire in confusion. The king, despairing of being able to oppose his revolted subjects with mutinous troops, and unable to support these troops longer by his own resources, agreed to enter into a treaty with the Scots, for which purpose a conference was held at Rippon, and thence transferred to London. From the situation to which his affairs were reduced, he was obliged again to summon an English parliament; and that which became so famous in history under the title of the *Long Parliament*, met in November 1640. In the house of commons now assembled were men of extensive design, uncommon sagacity, abilities, and resolution, who were determined to abridge the dangerous power of the king, and, as a preliminary step, carried an impeachment to the lords against the earl of Strafford for high treason, a nobleman regarded as the monarch's prime favourite and ablest instrument of arbitrary rule.

The Irish parliament, so obsequious to the wishes, and encomiastic on the virtues of their chief governor, began to change their tone, when they found his royal master embarrassed by the Scottish war and the distrust of the national representatives of England.

Proceed-
ings of the
Irish parlia-
ment.
1640.

At

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At first they complained of the burden of assessments which themselves had voted, and of the oppression of ecclesiastical courts and demands of the established clergy; for of the commons of this parliament the majority was composed of recusants and puritans, inveterately hostile between themselves, yet coalescing in opposition to the existing religious establishment. By the alterations voted by the commons in the modes of assessment of the second, third, and fourth subsidies, which had been granted to the king, these subsidies were reduced to a trifling sum hardly worth the trouble of collection; yet, with a ridiculous affectation of solicitude for the relief of their sovereign's distresses, they ordered the third subsidy to be paid six months sooner than the time originally appointed. Provoked by this insolence, added to the unprecedented revocation of their own grant, Charles peevishly commanded the leaf to be torn from the journals of the house in which this resolution was entered. But, encouraged by the increasing power of the English malcontents, the commons, little regarding the royal displeasure, proceeded to a full statement of grievances, real and fictitious, introductory to the concerted attack on their lately panegyricized viceroy.

Remonstrance.

A remonstrance, hastily prepared, enumerating many causes of complaint sustained by the people of Ireland in the administration of Strafford, was abruptly presented to the commons, who, without discussion, in the midst of tumult and disorder, voted all the articles collectively grievances. The remonstrance concluded with a petition to the lord-deputy, Wandesford,

Wandesford, that, if he should not think proper to afford relief, he would admit a select committee of the commons to repair to England to lay their complaints before his Majesty. While the deputy was making a faint attempt to elude the petition by recommending a conference with a committee of the lords, the representative body, already chosen by the commons, was preparing secretly to embark, and their agents, John Bellew and Oliver Cashel, were on their way to London. By the influence of two of their members, Pym, a profoundly sagacious leader of the popular party, and Sir John Clotworthy, an Irishman, who had gained a seat in their house by his enmity to Strafford, the English commons had appointed a committee to inquire into the grievances of Ireland. To this body the Irish agents, though by their public instructions they had been authorized only to address the throne, communicated their remonstrance, which with a petition from several of the Irish commons, was presented to the house. To the committee of the Irish commons was joined a deputation of lords, not elected by the upper house, but by a number of Irish nobles after the prorogation of parliament. This deputation the English commons affected to regard as a committee of the Irish house of lords, and both the Irish committees were treated with very flattering attention.

On the death of Wandesford, occasioned, as is supposed, by the vexations of his government, and the violent impression made on his mind by Strafford's prosecution, the administration of Ireland was committed to two lords justices, Sir William Parsons
and

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and Sir John Borlase, puritans, actuated by an illiberal virulence of party, corresponding to the meanness of their abilities and narrowness of intellect. The earl of Ormond, on the recommendation of Strafford, would have been appointed deputy by the king, and afterwards lord Dillon of Kilkenny-west would have been joined in commission, as lord justice, with Parsons, if the Irish committee had not, in all appearance unfortunately, remonstrated against both these appointments. Charles made still farther concessions to the demands of this delegated body, among which was the restoration of the leaf which had been torn by his order from the commons' journal, and that all his correspondence with his ministers in Ireland should be entered in the signet office, open to be inspected and copied by every subject. The committee at length presented their remonstrance in due form, but declined to support it otherwise than by entrenching themselves in a general declaration of the sense of the Irish house of commons; and this declaration also they declined to lay before his Majesty, when Strafford solicited a commission of inquiry into every particular of their remonstrance distinctly.

On the reassembling of the Irish parliament after Wandesford's prorogation, the commons no longer confined themselves to demand the redress of former grievances, but, like those of England, applied for new laws, regulations, and securities, tending to advance their own power, and, in most cases, the public interest. As the destruction of Strafford was their immediate object, on whom they had passed
very

very great and unqualified encomiums in the preamble to their bill of subsidies, they protested that this preamble was utterly false, had been surreptitiously inserted by Strafford or his agents, and had been permitted to remain, as if unnoticed, lest the rejection of the bill, and the delay thereby occasioned in the raising of the subsidies, should have been distressing to his Majesty. The lords, having caught the same spirit, united with the commons in this protestation, and nominated the Irish nobles then resident in London a committee of their house. This house, however, defended its own privileges against the encroachments of a power then paramount for a time in the British islands, that of the English house of commons. These having summoned the bishop of Ardagh to appear before them, on a complaint of a wrong decision in his favour in a private suit, were informed by the Irish lords, that they would not permit him, as a member of their body, to obey the summons; and expressed their confidence that the English commons would not proceed to a determination in such a case, but would remit the same to the parliament of Ireland. They also instructed their committee to supplicate his Majesty for the prevention of such acts in future.

Nor was this house of lords in all cases fully compliant to the Irish commons. The latter framed a number of questions for the decision of the judges, relative to the legality of several acts of state and practices under the authority of the chief governor and privy council. The lords consented, but not without a limitation of the queries, and a considerable

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able time allowed for the answers of the judges. Displeased at this coldness, the commons transmitted their queries to their committee in London, with directions to submit them to the English parliament. As they acted in concert with those of England, they impeached of high treason Sir Richard Bolton the chancellor, Sir Gerard Lowther, chief justice of the common pleas, Sir George Radcliffe, and Doctor Bramhal bishop of Derry, four friends of Strafford, to prevent their evidence in favour of that devoted nobleman on his trial. Scruples and debates had place among the lords, especially with respect to the chancellor and chief justice, who still kept their seats at the privy council and in their courts; and, after the execution of lord Strafford, in consequence of an act of attainder of the English parliament, the prosecution of these men, no longer necessary for this purpose, was tacitly laid aside. But, though the friends of this unfortunate nobleman, were no longer persecuted, the triumph of the party hostile to him and his measures was complete, so that to have been an object of Strafford's enmity was matter of high merit. On this ground Sir Piers Crosby was restored to his place in council; and Archibald Adair, a Scot, who had been deprived of the see of Killala for his expressions in approbation of the Scottish covenant, was recommended by the lords justices to the see of Waterford.

To the solicitations of the Irish committees the king consented that their grievances should be heard in his privy council; and to most of the articles he gave favourable answers. He agreed to deprive
those

those peers of their votes in the Irish house of lords, who held titles without property in Ireland, unless they should purchase estates in this kingdom within a time limited; to allow all his subjects to repair to any part of his dominions without leave of their viceroy, or any other restraint; to prohibit the chief governors and privy council from deciding in cases of property and from the annulling of letters patent; to revoke monopolies in commerce; to suspend the court of high commission; to refer the *graces*, and the demands of the clergy, to the lords justices and council; to reform the abuses of martial law and of quo-warrantos against boroughs; and to repeal the preamble, encomiastic of Strafford, in the bill of subsidies: but, beside his dissent in some other articles, he refused to admit a repeal of any part of the law of Poynings. He addressed a letter to the lords justices, expressing his wish that his subjects in Ireland should enjoy all his *graces*, and ordering bills to be transmitted for the establishment of some of the most material. In the return of the thanks of both houses to his Majesty, they prayed that the present parliament should not be dissolved nor prorogued, until laws should be prepared for the establishment of *all the graces*; and the redress of every grievance. They proceeded also to assert their judicial authority, as the chancellor Bolton had, in his answer to the charge against him, insinuated a doubt whether, since the enacting of Poyning's law, the Irish house of lords had power of judicature in capital cases. Both houses joined in a solemn protestation, "that the court of parliament

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ever was and is the supreme judicatory of the realm; and always had, and ought to have, full authority to determine in cases of treason and other offences."

This protestation, presented to the king and the English house of lords, was unfavourably received by the latter. After a serious debate in that house and in the privy council, the king was advised to suspend his acts of grace and favour to the people of Ireland until this question should be determined: but no determination seems to have taken place, probably prevented by subsequent troubles.

1641. The commons proceeded in a high spirit of reformation to frame a number of resolutions, among which every questionable demand of the established clergy was voted a grievance, in such a strain of severity, that the maintenance of this order of men became precarious, and even this house thought itself afterwards obliged to qualify the rigour of its resolutions in this case. They appointed a committee to inquire into the state of the college of Dublin, and prepared to change the constitution of that seminary by a body of statutes. They commanded the judges to give answers to their queries formerly proposed, and voted the answers unsatisfactory. They appointed Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, their prolocutor in a conference with the lords, to explain the reasons of the several questions, and the insufficiency of the judges' answers. The business ended with a solemn determination of the commons on every article separately, in which the rights of Irish subjects were stated and affirmed forcibly and with precision, and all irregular and illegal powers assumed

assumed by governors and officers of government, how much soever sanctioned by custom, were severely and explicitly condemned. The parliament at length, at the pressing instances of the chief governors, unwillingly adjourned, apparently with a resolution of rising in their demands at their next meeting; and, for their encouragement, their committees returned in their time of recess, with the bills for which they had strenuously contended, by which the properties of the subjects were secured, and all their capital grievances redressed, so as to leave no reasonable ground of complaint even to the most factious.

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The mutually hostile parties of recusants and puritans, who composed the majority of this parliament, had formed a temporary coalition for the common purpose of extorting concessions from the king in his embarrassed situation, but with views ultimately different. Of the former some had been secretly engaged in schemes, the completion of which would have involved the destruction of the latter. A part of such plan appears to have been the conduct pursued with respect to the catholic forces levied by Strafford for the invasion of Scotland. To disband these was rendered necessary by the remonstrances of the English parliament, but would without payment of their arrears be very dangerous. A sum insufficient for this purpose, but satisfactory for the moment to the soldiery, was raised with difficulty by the king, who entered into a treaty with the Spanish ambassador for their transportation to Spain for the service of the Spanish monarch. When the troops

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were

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were disbanded, and means prepared for their conveyance abroad, both the Irish commons, and their committee in London, clamoured vehemently against the measure, groundlessly affecting to dread a return of this army, with hostile intent in the pay of Spain, a kingdom too deeply engaged elsewhere to undertake such an enterprize. Insensible or regardless of the consequences, the English parliament adopted this sentiment, and to mortify the king in a display of their power, interdicted the transportation, though the Spanish ambassador had incurred great expence for that purpose. Thus these troops were detained in Ireland, the ready instruments of rebellion, conformably to the views of conspirators, who seem on this occasion to have duped the puritans.

With the same view was the activity of some members exerted on the unfounded report of a plot said to have been contrived by some dependants of the deceased earl of Strafford, for the destruction of both houses of parliament, by an explosion of gunpowder, in revenge for his fall. Great alarm was affected, and an order procured for the appointment of a committee to inspect the chambers of the castle. After an accurate search of all apartments adjacent to the place of parliamentary session, without the discovery of any circumstance favourable to suspicion, lord Macguire, the head of the committee, demanded admission to the king's magazines, that he might examine the stores. In this he received a peremptory refusal from Borlase, who, though probably unsuspecting of treachery, must have perceived

that

that the demand had no connexion with the pretended cause. Revolutionary preparations could be made with less obstruction in consequence of the vigorous resolutions of the parliament in favour of liberty. The people of Ireland had been accustomed to a severe government, not confined within the limits of law or constitutional freedom; and the sudden removal of an established abuse is attended with inconvenience. Intimidated by remonstrances, the officers of administration became so cautious, that the privy council, the court of high commission, and the courts of the lord presidents of Munster and Connaught, no longer exercised their former jurisdiction. The abrupt transition from arbitrary modes of government to constitutional scrupulosity, instead of endearing the administration, rendered it contemptible to the mass of the nation, and encouraged the enemies of British government in their plans of rebellion.

Various were the causes of discontent, promotive of a rebellious inclination in the people of Ireland: the hatred of the old Irish to what they regarded as an injurious usurpation of their country by the English government: the abuses and oppressions committed in the management of plantations by adventurers, commissioners, and agents: the harrassing and dispossessing of proprietors by fictions of law and revival of obsolete claims of the crown: the insincerity of the king who so often evaded the confirmation of the graces: the impolitic and selfish intolerance of new-comers from England, who represented to the government, and affected to consider,

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all the natives of Ireland, both of English and Irish blood without distinction, as disaffected and dangerous: the rigorous government of Strafford, which, though salutary to the general welfare, was by wanton insolence rendered odious: and the pestilent preaching of ecclesiastics educated abroad, who laboured with unhappy success to infuse into their hearers the most rancorous hatred of heresy and heretical government. Schemes of insurrection were long meditated, and so early as the year 1634, Heber Mac-Mahon, a Romish ecclesiastic, informed lord Strafford that a general rebellion was intended with assistance from some foreign courts, and that himself had been employed abroad in the soliciting of such assistance.

Designs
of rebellion.

The policy of Strafford confined his exertions to vigilance and precaution, without the giving of alarm to the nation. Rumours of conspiracies afterwards propagated, unattended by any apparent consequences, served to lull the administration into a fatal security, while from the distractions in England, and the success of the Scottish covenanters, in arming for their political and religious claims, the disaffected in Ireland were conceiving strong hopes of establishing a government independent of the English power, and their plots were hastening to maturity. When at length information was transmitted from the English cabinet to the lords justices of intelligence from abroad, that great numbers of Irish clergy had passed from Spain and other countries to this kingdom, and that a rebellion was soon to explode, no precautionary measures appear to have

have been taken by these governors; nor till the very eve of the insurrection were they awakened from their dream of careless insuspicion. Sir William Parsons is even supposed to have designedly connived at a scheme of rebellion, which might afford him an opportunity of augmenting his fortune by confiscations; while Sir John Borlase, an aged foldier, was, except in military affairs, ignorant and indolent. Both of them, well knowing that they owed their places wholly to the popular, and now ruling, party in England, slighted the instructions, and disobeyed the orders of the king.

Leaders of
rebellion.

The chief agitator of rebellion was Roger Moore, the head of a family now reduced, but once powerful in Leix, the Queen's County, a man of polished manners and insinuating address, who had travelled on the continent, judicious, deliberate, and penetrating, connected with some of the best families of old English race in Ireland. He became the idol of the old Irish, in whose songs he was celebrated, and among whom the phrase became proverbial, that *their dependance was on God, our Lady, and Roger Moore*. One of his first associates was Richard Plunket, vain, indigent, and bigoted, but polite and plausible, of a respectable family, an English education, and distinguished by promotion to a military command in Flanders. Another was Connor Macguire, baron of Enniskillen, who had inherited and dissipated that part of the lands of Fermanagh, forfeited in Tyrone's rebellion, which had been restored to his family, licentious, proud, and

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and of a mean intellect. A later convert to the plan was Sir Phelim O'Nial of Kinnard in the county of Tyrone, of a family uninjured and even favoured by English government, a protestant in his youth, and educated in England in Lincoln's Inn, but of a narrow understanding and brutal disposition, adopting the religion and manners of his clan, and consuming his estate in the vile gratifications of sensuality. By the death of the titular earl of Tyrone in Spain, son of the famous rebel, Hugh O'Nial, Sir Phelim became the ostensible head of the sept, and aspired to the princely dominion of his ancestors. To these were joined Hugh Byrne, a fierce conspirator, whose father had been oppressed, and deprived of his lands, by Parsons the lord justice; Sir James Dillon of an honourable English family of the Pale; Turlaugh O'Nial, a brother of Sir Phelim; Philip Reily; a determined confederate named Hugh Mac-Mahon, and many others of less note, whose numbers and violence were much augmented by the furious denunciations against popery in Britain, and apprehensions of attempts of Scottish and English puritans to exterminate the Irish catholics; apprehensions seriously entertained by some, and, for bad purposes, affected to be believed, and eagerly propagated, by others.

Their proceedings.

Not only were the troops, levied for the Spanish service, detained in Ireland by the contrivance of these men, but they also enlisted numbers on that pretence without authority. For the pay of their men they proposed to seize all the rents of the kingdom

dom without distinction of persons, and expected a supply of money from the Pope. The insurrection was proposed to be general; the properest time for its commencement judged to be in the approach of winter, when succours could not so easily be sent from Britain; and the fifth of October was appointed for the rising. But the enterprize was deferred, and nearly abandoned by some principal conspirators, discouraged by the coldness of the catholics of the Pale, who declined to engage in it, as being of less desperate fortune, less hostile to the existing government, and expecting to succeed in reasonable demands by parliamentary exertions; yet Plunket had, with too sanguine hopes, pledged himself for their co-operation to his associates. Alarmed by this intelligence of defection, Moore, who had for some time lived retired from public view, and had employed lord Macguire as his agent and emissary, rushed ardently from his retreat, and by his remonstrances and arguments confirmed Byrne, Sir Phelim, and Macguire in the pursuit of the design. The twenty-third of October was now appointed for the commencement of their military operations. To Moore was committed the task of surprizing the castle of Dublin, assisted by Byrne, Macguire, and some others, who were to employ two hundred men, equally composed of partizans from Leinster and Ulster, the latter to force the greater gate, the former the smaller, while greater numbers were to come after to their support. To prevent alarm, they were to pass as recruits for the service of Spain, and
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to come on a day of more than ordinary concourse, when a weekly market was held in the capital. The seizures of the different fortresses in Ulster were severally assigned to different leaders, who were to march under Sir Phelim to secure their friends in the possession of Dublin, after the accomplishment of their particular tasks. The insurrection was to be conducted with as little bloodshed as possible, and all the loyal gentry to be imprisoned as hostages.

Their
views.

That all the conspirators should have precisely the same views is not to be supposed, but that in the course of an insurrection the most violent would prevail might well be expected from the circumstances of the country. The notions of some were wild and undigested. The most moderate wished not that the king of England's authority should be renounced, but confined within certain limits; that the Romish religion should alone be established throughout the kingdom; that the prelates of this communion should sit in parliament; that the law of Poynings should be totally repealed; and that the administration should be held by two Romish lords justices, the one of the ancient Irish, the other of the old English race. Some recommended simply the banishment, others the complete extermination, of the British planters and other protestants. That the latter opinion was delivered by many of the clergy, in an assembly held at the abbey of Multifernam in Westmeath, was asserted by Heber Mac-Mahon, who was present on the occasion.

caſion. That the Scottiſh planters of Ulſter, whoſe numbers and vicinity to their brethren in Scotland might create a powerful obſtacle, ſhould be left unmoleſted *at firſt* in the general commotion, ſeems to have been approved by all as a prudential meaſure.

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C H A P. XXII.

Rebellion of 1641—O'Connolly's discovery—Defenseless state of Dublin—Arrival of Willoughby—Distraction—Catholics of the Pale—Munster—Connaught—Progress of insurgents in Ulster—Forged Commission—Military operations—Massacres—Proceedings of the lords justices—A parliament—Influence of Moore—Lord Dillon's deputation—Defection of the Pale—Extension of the rebellion—Military operations—Cruelty of Coote—Defeat of Julian's-town bridge—Blockade of Drogheda—Distress of the garrison—Ravaging expeditions of Coote and Ormond—Spirited reply of Ormond to Gormanston—Distress of Dublin—Siege of Drogheda raised—Conduct of the justices—Tichburne.

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Rebellion.
1641.

ROGER MOORE, the main spring of the Irish conspiracy, was unable, with all his abilities and exertions, to render the insurrection general. The old English catholics of the Pale, by their aversion to the design, damped the ardour of many, so that some of the conspirators relinquished the attempt. An honest and able chief governor might doubtless have prevented any dangerous commotion, notwithstanding that the royal army consisted of only two thousand infantry and nine hundred horse, distributed as garrisons in several towns and fortresses. The leaders of rebellion, however, notwithstanding the cold-

coldness of many, depended on a rising throughout all Ulster, and on a subsequent concurrence of the other provinces, when the northern counties and the capital should be in their possession. On the twenty-second of October, the day previous to that which was appointed for the seizure of Dublin Castle, Moore and most of the other leaders of this enterprize assembled in the capital; and though they found only eighty of their men arrived, they encouraged one another with the hope of the arrival of their confederates from the north, and the completion of their number before the time of action. On this critical evening a discovery of the plot was forced on the lords justices by what we call chance, a name given to operations invisible and inscrutable to human intellect.

Owen O'Connolly, a servant of Sir John Clotworthy, of the old Irish race, was, though he had been bred a protestant, supposed a fit person to promote the conspiracy by Hugh Mac Mahon, who doubtless imagined him secretly attached to the religion of his ancestors, and probably also hostile to English government, on account of the sufferings of his family, who had been deprived of their lands by the system of plantation. In consequence of a message, O'Connolly repaired to Mac-Mahon's house in the county of Monaghan, and not meeting him there, followed him to Dublin, where he found him, when he and the other leaders had closed their secret consultation by falling on their knees, and drinking to the success of their enterprize. Mac-Mahon immediately with great exultation communicated to him the plot, introduced

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introduced him to lord Macguire, and brought him to his own lodgings, where he proposed to detain him till the very hour of the assault, as he found reason to suspect him not inclined to the business. O'Connolly, feigning to be at once converted into a determined partizan of revolt, found an opportunity of escape, and rushed with violent trepidation to the presence of Parsons, the lord justice, whom he informed of the tremendous design just ready for execution. Parsons, who still persevered in his incredulity of rebellion, coldly advised O'Connolly to return to Mac-Mahon, and to learn more particularly the circumstances of the treason.

After the departure of O'Connolly, who was not so stupid as to follow this advice, Parsons awoke suddenly from his torpid security, issued orders for the guarding of the castle and city, and communicated the alarming information to his colleague. Struck more forcibly with this intelligence, Borlase much blamed the dismissal of the informer, summoned the privy council, and sent to search for O'Connolly, who was found, seized as a suspicious person, in the hands of the city watch. When, after some repose from fright and the intoxication of drink, he had given his evidence clearly, Mac-Mahon and Macguire were arrested, but Moore, Byrne, and other leaders effected their escape. Mac-Mahon, while he was waiting in a hall, before his examination by the privy council, amused himself by drawing with chalk the figures of men hanging on gibbets, or groveling on the ground, either designed to prefigure the deaths

deaths of himself and his associates, or those of their opponents. The latter seems probable, as he boasted to the privy council, to whom, after a little hesitation he confessed the plot, that the insurrection of that day was too mighty to be suppressed, and that his death would be severely revenged. These two conspirators, after successive imprisonments in Dublin and the Tower of London, were hanged at Tyburn in 1645.

Notwithstanding the discovery of the plot on the night of the twenty-second of October, the conspirators might still have executed their purpose, if they had persevered with resolution; since only eight infirm warders, and forty halberdiers, the usual guard of the chief governors on occasions of parade, composed the whole garrison of the Castle, which contained a deposit of fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, with a proportional quantity of matches and bullets, arms for ten thousand men, and thirty-five cannons with their full equipments. Among the inconveniences arising from the too strict adherence to constitutional rights at this time was the destitute state of the capital with regard to troops, as the citizens had urged the privilege of their charter against the billeting of soldiers, and the present lords justices affected to govern on popular principles. In such circumstances of the seat of government the arrival was fortunate of an experienced and spirited officer, Sir Francis Willoughby, governor of the fort of Galway, who found the justices and privy council, of which he was a member, assembled at
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Chichester house, the residence of Borlase, in the green leading from the city to the College. He informed them that in his whole journey he had not perceived any even the smallest appearance of commotion, (for the plan of the conspirators was to give no alarm till the moment of execution) but that since his arrival he had observed a number of strange horsemen pouring into the suburbs, who, not admitted within the walls, were still hovering around, and therefore he advised the immediate removal of the justices and councillors to the Castle. To Willoughby was committed the defense of the Castle and city; and a proclamation was issued, notifying the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy, and exhorting all loyal persons to provide for defense.

The fear and distraction of the citizens of Dublin was great beyond expression, alarmed at midnight by a variety of rumours, and confirmed in the succeeding day in the certainty of an actual rebellion by expresses from the north. "Those protestant inhabitants, who by their age, their weakness, or their sex, were most susceptible of terror, swelled the crowds that waved tumultuously through the streets in search of intelligence, and by their shrieks and clamours increased the general consternation." Such was the effect of terror, that even men of superior rank imagined the appearance of rebel armies approaching to the capital, and even within the city rushing to the Castle. Many of the English dwellers, despairing of safety, embarked for their native country, and chose rather to sustain the distress and danger of tempestuous

tempestuous weather on shipboard than the hazard of meeting with the rebels on shore. In this state of alarm, the principal protestant merchants, by the advice of Sir John Temple, master of the rolls, deposited their effects within the Castle, on promise of reimbursement for their losses in the public service; by which means was obtained a supply for the army, when the treasury was quite empty, and the magistrates unable or unwilling to advance any money for the defense of the country.

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When the catholic lords of the Pale appeared before the council, expressing their abhorrence of the rebellion, and demanding arms and ammunition for their own defense and the annoyance of the insurgents, only a small quantity was granted, and only to those who were most exposed to danger, under pretence of a scarcity, as the puritanic administration distrusted all catholics, and feared the coalition of these lords with the rebels. When the same afterwards remonstrated against the words *Irish papists* in the proclamation, which they apprehended to be too general and indefinite, they were indulged with an explanatory proclamation which declared, that this term was not intended as applicable to the English of the Pale, nor to persons elsewhere of English race. Yet as soon as the lords justices received assurances of succours from England, they recalled the arms which they had given to these catholics, and commanded by proclamation all except the ordinary inhabitants of Dublin, on pain of death, to depart from the city in twenty-four hours, and not to presume to approach within two miles of its walls; thus leaving

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leaving the catholics of the Pale exposed to the fury of the rebels without defense, and consequently obliged to mollify them by contributions, or by joining them as allies. In Munster, more distant from the insurgents of the north, peace was preserved for some time, without a military force, by the loyalty of the gentry and strength of the protestant inhabitants. In like manner was tranquility maintained in Connaught by the exertions of catholic gentry and nobles, particularly lord Dillon of Costello and lord Mayo, and above all by Uliac earl of Clanricard, who strained every nerve to support the authority of government, yet was hated for his religion by the lords justices, denied every assistance, and mortified and disgusted when opportunity allowed. But in Leinster the success of the northerns encouraged the sept of the O'Byrnes, who had cruelly suffered by the injustice of Parsons, to raise in arms, to unite with the rebels of Wexford and Carlow, and to extend their ravages to the vicinity of Dublin.

Insurrec-
tion in Ul-
ster.

The conspirators of Ulster had risen at the appointed time with such activity that within eight days they were full in possession of the whole counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal, and Derry, beside parts of Armagh and Down, except the towns of Derry, Colerain, Lisburn, Carrickfergus, and Enniskillen, together with some inferior fortresses. Sir Phelim O'Nial, or O'Neal, as the word is now written, took the lead in rebellion by the surprize, on the twenty-second of October, of the fortress of Charlemount.

lemount. Admitted with his followers, on his proposal to sup with lord Caulfield, an old officer, the governor of the fort, he made all the inmates prisoners in the night, and thence flying to Dungannon seized that post also, while his associates elsewhere made their attacks on various other garrisons. In the counties of Longford and Cavan the insurrection was conducted with the appearance of legal formality, the people being summoned to arms by their respective sheriffs, who were romanists, engaged in the plot. Enniskillen was preserved by Sir William Cole, a gentleman who had sent neglected information to the chief governors, so early as the eleventh of October, concerning treasonable designs; and on the twenty-first, a full account of the conspiracy, by a letter which reached not its place of destination.

Some leaders of the insurgents pretended to act by authority of the queen of England who was a catholic. Sir Phelim, in the seizure of Charlemount, declared himself authorized by the English parliament; but afterwards feigned a commission from the king, and shewed for this purpose, without allowing it to be inspected, a parchment with a great seal. This parchment appears to have been a patent of lord Caulfield, found in the plundering of the fortress, as was confessed some years after by Sir Phelim at his execution. In seven days after the sackage of Charlemount, a forged commission was publicly produced, with the seal appended to it which had been torn from the patent, where authority was pretended to be given by his Majesty to the Irish catholics to seize

Forged
commission.

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the persons and effects of all English protestants in Ireland. Immediately on the promulgation of this pretended instrument appeared a manifesto, supposed to be the work of Roger Moore, who might wish to correct the impolicy of Sir Phelim's device. The non-existence of a royal commission was tacitly implied in this manifesto, which proclaimed to the catholics the necessity of arming to prevent their own extirpation, to support the royal prerogative against the adherents of the English parliament, and to defend the protestant establishment against the seditious puritans. Thus the framers of this instrument affected a coalition with the prelatical protestants against the puritans, as their party had before affected a coalition with the latter against the former.

Military
operations.

The progress of the insurgents was checked, as soon as the protestants, who had escaped to places of strength, recovered from their first consternation. The rebel parties were foiled in many skirmishes and assaults, as at Dromore, Enniskillen, Castle-Derrick in Tyrone, and in some actions in the counties of Donegal and Fermanagh, where lord Macguire's own castle was taken by storm. The spirits of the loyalists were considerably supported in these exertions by the arrival of fifteen hundred foldiers, sent by the king from Scotland, with arms, ammunition, and some money. This unfortunate monarch, receiving in Scotland intelligence of the rebellion, applied for succour to the Scottish parliament, whose members, though enflamed with hatred to popery, declined, under

under frivolous pretences, the request for the present, leaving Charles to make what exertions he might by the assistance of individuals. Not materially discouraged by partial defeats, the rebels under Sir Phelim at Newry, amounting to many thousands, resolved on the attack of Carrickfergus, the chief post of the loyalists in Ulster. A step previously necessary to the grand enterprize was to gain possession of Lisburn, called also Lisnegarvy, a Scottish settlement; for to leave the Scots unmolested was a measure soon abandoned. In this town had been assembled about five hundred ill-armed men, who had repelled an assault of the rebels, and were now very seasonably reinforced by the arrival of Sir Arthur Tyringham, and in the moment of danger by that of Sir George Rawdon, a gallant officer. Four thousand well-appointed men, the first regularly formed body of insurgents, detached by Sir Phelim, made a most furious and long obstinately maintained attempt to storm this post on the twenty-eighth of November; but the assailants were received with such cool intrepidity and fierce resolution, that in their discomfiture the number of their slain was reported to equal thrice the whole garrison. The assailants had repeatedly penetrated into the town, which they reduced to ashes; but by a sudden frost, after a thaw, the ground had been rendered so slippery that they were unable to stand; while the cavalry of their opponents, whose horses had been prepared for frost by shoeing, charged with impetuosity.

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Massacres.

The rage of the rebels for this bloody repulse and other defeats was wreaked on the unhappy persons who had become their prisoners. The insurrection was so totally unexpected by the English protestants, the first objects of the rebels' hostility, that they mostly fell into the power of their enemies without resistance, and were either confined in prison amid the horrors of expected murder, or driven naked from their habitations, exposed to the rage of the elements in a season remarkably inclement, fainting and expiring in the roads, or crawling to places of refuge in the ghastliness of fear and famine. All their possessions became the prey of barbarous plunderers, but the original plan of insurrection was at first so far observed that comparatively few were butchered in cold blood. Soon however this plan was forgotten, and every disgrace of the rebel arms was expiated by the blood of defenseless victims. When Lurgan was surrendered by Sir William Brownlow, on a solemn treaty of capitulation for security to the inhabitants, and permission to march unmolested from the place with goods and retinue, all were perfidiously seized and doomed to butchery. One time all the protestants of three contiguous parishes were massacred : at another lord Caulfield and fifty persons with him. The prisoners were led forth from various quarters, goaded forward like beasts by their guards, sinking under their tortures, and ultimately dispatched in some inhuman manner. Sometimes the insurgents inclosed their prisoners, according to the words of Leland, " in some house or castle, which they set on fire, with a brutal indifference

ence to their cries, and a hellish triumph over their expiring agonies. Sometimes the captive English were plunged into the first river to which they had been driven by their tormentors. A hundred and ninety were at once precipitated from the bridge of Portadown. Irish ecclesiastics were seen encouraging the carnage. The women forgot the tenderness of their sex ; pursued the English with execrations, and imbrued their hands in blood. Even children in their feeble malice, lifted the dagger against the helpless prisoners. They who escaped the utmost fury of the rebels languished in miseries horrible to be described. Their imaginations were overpowered and disordered by the recollection of tortures and butchery. In their distraction every tale of horror was eagerly received, and every suggestion of phrensy and melancholy believed implicitly. Miraculous escapes from death, miraculous judgments on murderers, lakes and rivers of blood, marks of slaughter indelible by every human effort, visions of spirits chaunting hymns, ghosts rising from rivers and shrieking out revenge : these and such like fancies were propagated and received as uncontrollable."

That only superstition, which in those times was so prevalent that even the existence of witches was firmly believed, could be chargeable on the northern protestants, might be earnestly wished. But a horrible instance of injustice and cruelty is recorded, committed by the troops in garrison at Carrickfergus, who, issuing one night from their quarters into an adjacent district named Iland-Magee, where a
number

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number of romanists of the poorer sort resided, confident of safety as being inoffensive and untainted with rebellion, massacred them all in their beds without distinction of age or sex. Concerning the number of the slain, and the date of the crime, writers are not unanimous. I can find no ground to suppose the former more than thirty families; and the date assigned by Leland, from an examination of original depositions, is the beginning of January 1642. Superfluously to heighten a deed so atrocious, some writers have represented the time of perpetration as previous to the massacres committed by the Irish, and the number slain three thousand persons, who had taken refuge in that little tract under the protection of the garrison. To be warped into misrepresentation by partial attachments is vilely to prostitute the sacred office of a historian, a prostitution of which both protestant and roman catholic writers are guilty.

Proceed-
ing of the
lords jus-
tices.

The lords justices had, on the full discovery of a plot for insurrection, sent O'Connolly, the discoverer, into England with intelligence to the earl of Leicester, who bore the title of lord lieutenant of Ireland. Sir Henry Spotswood was dispatched at the same time to the king, who was then at Edinburg, and who, unable to make any effectual exertion by his prerogative, recommended the care of Ireland to the English parliament. This formidable body, whose determined plan was to subvert the regal power, assumed this concession in the most extensive signification, and resolved to use it as an engine for their main purpose. Confident of being able to subdue at any time the Irish insurgents, the leaders of the popular

popular party in England were careful to prevent a hasty conquest, since by the maintenance of the war were various pretences found for the augmentation of their own power, by patronage and influence, the levying of money and the providing of arms, intended really against the king, apparently against the rebels. Connected with these leaders, and influenced, especially Parsons, by the hopes of gain from extensive confiscations, the lords justices threw impediments in the way of all measures calculated for the speedy termination of the Irish rebellion by arms or other means. When they issued proclamations with offers of pardon to repentant rebels, they so clogged them with limitations and exceptions as to render them quite nugatory. When they were authorized to proclaim a general pardon in the name of the English parliament to those who should submit within a certain time, they evaded the order. The Irish parliament, which had been adjourned till November, was by them prorogued to the twenty-fourth of February, a measure highly displeasing to the best and wisest loyalists, who earnestly wished the most efficacious means to be adopted for the pacification of the kingdom, and hoped for the forwarding of these means by the national convention. On the forcible asseverations of lawyers, indirectly favoured by the judges, that the non-assembling of the parliament, on the day to which it was adjourned, would actually involve its dissolution, the justices with difficulty were persuaded to permit its meeting for one day; but to suffer it to sit more than two they were inexorably obstinate in refusing.

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In this very short session a declaration was drawn, notwithstanding the opposition of some members, reprobating in strong terms the rebellious conduct of the insurgents, and denouncing vengeance against them unless they should sue for mercy in such time and manner as his Majesty and the chief governors and council should prescribe. Assistance even against their will was offered to the justices, who were empowered to collect forces, and to assess and levy money for their support. Some members of both houses were also nominated to enter into (when they should have received instructions on that head from the king or the state of Ireland) conferences with the rebels of Ulster and other parts concerning the causes of their insurrection, and to make report of all matters to the king or the constituted authorities under him. These deputies addressed themselves to Roger Moore, who was lying near Dundalk with two thousand five hundred ill armed men, and who was much elevated in hope from the misconduct of the governors, and most industriously improving to the advantage of his cause the discontents occasioned by the prorogation and other unpopular measures. To inspire his associates with an idea of his confident expectation of success, he received the deputation with disdain, contemptuously rejected all overtures for an accommodation, and tore to pieces the order of the two houses authorizing a treaty, with an affected indignation at the injurious terms in which it was expressed. The friends of pacification were unsuccessful in an attempt made in another quarter. A number of lords and gentlemen
of

of this description deputed lord Dillon of Costello to repair to the king with a memorial, recommending, among other salutary measures for the reduction of Ireland by Irish resources alone, the appointment of the earl of Ormond to the government of the country, instead of the present lords justices. By the contrivance of the leading men among the English commons, apprized of the business by the justices, lord Dillon, and his companion, lord Taaffe, were seized in their way to Charles, their papers suppressed, and their persons confined, until their confinement was no longer of use for the end proposed.

By the misconduct of administration the rebellion acquired considerable extent in the beginning of December, a rebellion hitherto confined to Ulster, some parts of Leinster, and the county of Leitrim. The catholics of the Pale, descendants of ancient English, left unarmed and exposed to the rebels, consequently obliged to pay them contributions, and dreading the rigour of the lords justices, were at length, after a victory of the northerns near Drogheda, persuaded to revolt by the arguments of Moore, who addressed himself principally to lord Gormanston. This nobleman, together with the lords Fingal, Slane, Louth, Dunsany, Trimbleston, and Netterville, and about a thousand other gentlemen, met Moore with a body of his associates by appointment on the hill of Crofty. To Gormanston, demanding why they had entered the Pale in arms, Moore, in the name of the whole body replied, that they had taken arms for the maintenance of the king's prerogative and the constitutional freedom of his subjects in

Defection
of the Pale,
1641.

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in Ireland. On his solemn affelevation that these were their real motives, Gormanston and his party declared that they would join their forces with them for that purpose, and agreed to another meeting on the hill of Tarah. Yet their troops formed a separate army, independent of the northern leaders, under Gormanston as chief commander, and lord Fingal as general of horse. At the time when these lords had determined on revolt, they received letters from the chief governors and council, requiring their speedy attendance in Dublin, to confer on the state of the kingdom, and, as was added with manifest consciousness of being suspected, *for no other end*. The lords affected to consider this invitation as a snare, and proclaimed their fears of Sir Charles Coote, a fierce partizan of the puritans. In their address to the king they complained of the injurious treatment received from the lords justices, by which they had been compelled to unite with the forces of Ulster for the defense of the royal prerogative, and the preservation of the liberties, religion, estates, and persons of his faithful subjects, the catholics of Ireland: and in a manifesto they expressed the utmost respect for the government, and their readiness to confer with such commissioners as the chief governors should appoint, in any place of safety, on the means for the advancement of his Majesty's service and the general pacification of the kingdom.

Extension of
the rebellion.

At the request of the lords justices, a proclamation was issued immediately in the king's name, denouncing the insurgents, in the most explicit terms, as rebels and traitors to his Majesty and the royal crown
of

of England and Ireland ; and forty copies, twice the number required by the justices, signed with the king's name, and sealed with his privy signet, were transmitted for dispersion through different parts of the kingdom. This number of copies was far from sufficient for a general notification, when the manifesto of the Pale was every where dispersed, composed in a style so moderate, loyal, and forcible, as to make a dangerous impression on all the catholics of Ireland, to whom danger of extermination by the puritans was alarmingly inculcated. The flame of insurrection spread with rapidity through Connaught, except the county of Galway, which was with great difficulty preserved by the exertions and influence of lord Clanricard. In Munster such vengeance was inflicted, without distinction of guilt and innocence, for some petty ravages, by Sir William Saintleger, the lord president, that strong remonstrances were made, which were by him received with disdain and insolence. The disaffected pleaded the necessity of arming for self preservation. The county of Clare was overrun by the O'Briens in defiance of their chief, the earl of Thomond. The city of Kilkenny was seized by lord Mountgarret ; and in a few days almost every place of strength in that county, and in those of Waterford and Tipperary, fell into the hands of the insurgents.

Notwithstanding the exertions of their leaders to prevent them, some slaughters were committed by the rebels of Munster on defenceless protestants. But, says the faithful historian Leland, " neither the vices nor the virtues of humanity were confined to one party

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party or one profession. The fanatic fury of Saint-leger and his train was not less horrid than the most brutal outrages of the rude Irish. If, in the execution of martial law, he spared neither sex nor age, his countrymen frequently expressed a generous indignation and horror at his barbarity. If those of better condition among the insurgents sometimes joined in the rapine of their followers, lord Mountgarret shot his friend to death, when he could not otherwise restrain him from plundering. If some popish ecclesiastics preached their horrid doctrines of blood and massacre, others were known equally zealous to moderate the excesses of war, to protect the English, and to conceal them from the fury of the enemy, even in their places of worship and under their altars." All Munster would soon have been possessed by the revolted if they had not been weakened by disunion. Maurice, lord viscount Roche and Fermoy, in the county of Cork, refused to be commanded by Mountgarret, who in consequence retired discontented to Kilkenny. Taking advantage of the competition and ability thus introduced among his opponents, the lord president, who had hitherto been destitute of any competent force, collected and armed a body of men, by which he was enabled to take the field in the spring of the ensuing year.

Military
operations.
1641.

The measures of the lords justices in the military department were not more calculated for the suppression of revolt than in the civil administration. On the discovery of the plot in Dublin, Sir Francis Willoughby had been unable to assemble even two hundred

hundred men for defense of the castle, until the arrival of part of his own disbanded regiment from Carlisle. This body was continually reinforced by refugees from the country and troops recalled from different garrisons. Such a force was at length assembled, that the earl of Ormond proposed to march and attack the rebel army, which consisting of four thousand men, wretchedly provided, lay at Atherdee, now called Ardee, seven miles from Drogheda. The proposal of this enterprize, which in all probability would have been attended with success, was under a pretence, publicly known to be false, of a want of arms, rejected by the governors, who contented themselves with sending Sir Henry Tichburne with his regiment to secure Drogheda from surprize. While Roger Moore was augmenting his forces, to which he gave the title of the *catholic army*, and strengthening his party by exhorting his followers to suppress all national distinctions, and to rest the whole merits of their cause on their civil and religious rights as loyal subjects of the king, the justices took no effectual measures to check the progress or prevent the ravages of the enemy. Sir Charles Coote, a soldier of fortune, trained in the wars of Elizabeth, morose, cruel, and inveterately hostile to the Irish, particularly on account of depredations committed on his lands, was employed in petty expeditions, one of which was for the relief of Wicklow castle. He drove the besiegers from their post, but sullied his victory by an unprovoked and indiscriminate carnage in the town, which rivaled in atrocity the excesses of the northerns. Recalled

on

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On an alarm to Dublin, he fought his way through the sept of O'Tool, who in number about a thousand opposed his retreat, and was appointed to take charge of the city as its governor.

The alarm, which occasioned the recall of Coote, was caused by the defeat of six hundred foot and fifty horse, mostly composed of despoiled refugees, undisciplined, and unacquainted with war, detached from the capital to reinforce the garrison of Drogheda. This body was routed, with little loss except arms and ammunition, at Julian's town bridge, three miles from Drogheda, by two thousand five hundred men, a part of the rebel army which had advanced to blockade that city. This action, unimportant in itself, was followed by important consequences, as it was much magnified by report, raised the reputation of the rebels, caused the desertion of whole regiments from the royal service, and, among other unfavourable events, hastened the defection of the Pale. That Dublin might then have been taken by the rebels was believed by many, if they had immediately advanced to attack it, instead of investing Drogheda. The latter, called then Tredagh, had been governed by Sir Faithful Fortescue, who, disgusted by the refusal of reinforcements by the chief governors, and even of permission to levy men at his own expence to defend the town, had resigned and had been succeeded by Sir Henry Tichburne. This other officer also was abandoned to his shifts; and the offer of lord viscount Moore to raise and maintain from his own resources six hundred men, for the defence of this important post, till money could be procured

cured from England, was rejected in like manner. Tichburne, however, having strengthened the gar-
rison by the soldiers who had accompanied him from Dublin, and by those who had escaped from Julian's town bridge, contrived to maintain his station against twenty thousand besiegers, who were destitute of artillery, ammunition, other implements of war, even of tents in a severe winter, and cantoned for shelter in the neighbouring villages. He repelled two attempts of the enemy, in one of which a part had even gained admittance into the town; but famine, consequent sickness and desertion, threatened to render all his efforts abortive, till a reinforcement arrived of four companies, and a supply of bread; while Sir Phelim O'Neal hastened to bring artillery and fresh troops from the north, in full hopes of success, to storm the town.

Meanwhile the arrival of Sir Simon Harcourt from England with eleven hundred men encouraged the lords justices to some exertions. Sir Charles Coote, who had already committed some ravages, and indiscriminate slaughters, at Santry and Clontarf, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, now dislodged a body of the enemy stationed in the village of Swords, and wasted the country around without mercy. Ormond, with two thousand foot and three hundred horse, drove the insurgents from Naas, their principal station in Leinster, and ravaged the country, less barbarously than Coote, yet with such severity, that Gormanston remonstrated, and threatened to make the earl's wife and children answerable for any future violences of this nature. Said Ormond in his reply,

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ply, " my wife and children are in your power. Should they receive any injury from men, I shall never revenge it on women and children. This would be not only base and unchristian, but infinitely beneath the value at which I rate my wife and children." In another expedition to Kilsalaghien, seven miles from Dublin, though he executed not his orders of conflagration and slaughter to their full extent, yet this contributed with other devastations in the neighbourhood to the distressful scarcity of provisions in the capital. Notwithstanding the extraordinary zeal expressed by the English commons for the suppression of the Irish rebels, and their vote of two hundred thousand pounds and twelve thousand men for the purpose, the aids afforded by them were slow and scanty. The arrival of a second reinforcement of fifteen hundred infantry and four hundred horse, under Sir Richard Grenville and colonel George Monk, without provisions or money, augmented the distress. The soldiers, wasted by famine, deserted; or endeavoured to supply their wants by robbery.

One good consequence arising from the calamitous condition of the army was, that, to prevent a mutiny, the justices were obliged to permit Ormond to employ the soldiery in the procuring of provisions in the enemy's quarters. But by no entreaties could he obtain permission to attack the rebels at Drogheda, and was allowed only eight days for a ravaging expedition toward the Boyne, - with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, with a strict inhibition not to pass that river. On the first intelligence of Ormond's

mond's march, Sir Phelim and his troops, who had been repeatedly foiled with grievous loss by Tichburne, raised the siege, and retired with precipitation into the northern province. The justices, who attempted immediately to recal the earl, were inexorable to his repeated solicitations, joined with those of the officers of Drogheda, for permission to prosecute this advantage, and to pursue the rebels to Newry. The enemy's forces again returned to invest Drogheda, but Tichburne, who had not been put under such restrictions as Ormond, borrowing five hundred men from the latter, defeated the rebels, pursued them to Dundalk, dislodged them from that post, and would have prosecuted his advantage further, if the chief governors had allowed him the necessary provisions.

C H A P. XXIII.

*Repentance of the Pale—Not admitted—Tortures—
State of the war—Distress of the royal soldiery—
Operations—Scottish auxiliaries—Owen O'Neal—
Foreign supplies—Numbers massacred—National
convention—Lord Castlehaven—Division of royalists
and parliamentarians—Lord Ranelagh—Address of
the officers—Severity to a bishop—Negociation with
the rebels—Battle of Ross—Miserable state of
Dublin—Violence of the lords justices—Removal of
Parsons—State of the country—Defeat of Vavasor
—Excise.*

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Repent-
ance of the
Pale.

THE successes attendant on the arms of Ormond and Tichburne, in spite of the restrictions, and inconsistent with the views, of the lords justices, were followed by an immediate consequence disagreeable to these politicians. The lords and gentlemen of the Pale, who had affected to act separately from the northern Irish, and seem to have disrelished, from the first, such desperate schemes of rebellion, were fully awakened to a sense of their danger, on finding how little support could be expected from their associates, who, with a cowardice equal to their cruelty, had fled from troops comparatively insignificant in respect of number. Earnestly desirous of being admitted into the protection of government, they made appli-
cation

cation to Ormond on his march to Drogheda. This nobleman, according to strict orders from the justices, contrived that all, without distinction, who came to submit, should be seized by the soldiers, without admission to his presence, and sent prisoners to Dublin. Many men of respectable family and character, guilty of no armed association with the rebels, sufferers by their extortion, averse to their proceedings, and known protectors of the English, were indiscriminately imprisoned, without permission of access to the justices, and threatened with the utmost rigour of law. CHAP.
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To involve as many as possible in the guilt of rebellion was part of the plan adopted by the party of the lords justices, whose great object was an extensive forfeiture of lands. Their agents were indefatigable in the procuring of indictments, not only against open rebels, but also those whose conduct was at all capable of being brought into question. Against the gentry of the Pale was principally directed the rage of their prosecution. In a letter addressed to the earl of Leicester, intended really for the popular leaders of the English commons, they assigned some causes for their severity, among which was the presumption of the inhabitants in asserting that Ireland was *not* a conquered country; yet these leaders, who now admitted this assertion to be criminal, had not long before charged the contrary assertion against lord Strafford as a treasonable tenet. *With such ease have statesmen in all ages affirmed or denied the same principles, according as the convenience of the moment seemed to them to require.* A scheme was

D d 2

formed

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formed by the English commons to raise money from estates expected to escheate in Ireland ; conformably to which a bill was passed for the investing such persons with Irish lands as should advance certain sums for the ostensible purpose of reducing the rebels. To leave no means untried for the procuring of information, the chief governors put some prisoners to the rack ; Hugh Mac-Mahon, who had been seized on the information of O'Connolly ; Sir John Ried, who had been gentleman of the privy chamber to the king, a deputy chosen by the inhabitants of the Pale, on their taking of arms, to carry their remonstrance to his Majesty, but who had notified his intended journey to the lords justices, had been the first to inform Ormond of the flight of the northerns from Drogheda, and had been conducted by his order to Dublin ; and Patrick Barnewall, a gentleman venerable in character and in age, guilty only of having attended the meeting at the hill of Crofty, and being appointed to a command, without ever acting or uniting with the rebels.

From the confessions of these unfortunate men nothing material could be drawn for the main purpose of the chief governor's party, who had hoped to inculcate the king as well as the lords of the Pale. The justices were even ashamed of their cruelty to Barnewall, who, for some sort of amends, was permitted to reside in Dublin, and to have his estate protected from the general havock of the soldiery. The more the enemies of Charles attempted to throw on him the odium of a connexion with the rebels of Ireland, the more was he anxious to express his detestation

testation of these rebels ; and he now declared his positive resolution of going against them in person at the head of his army : but, if in this he was sincere, his design was prevented by an insolent and peremptory message of the English parliament. The catholics of the Pale, who had reposed their last hope of accommodation with government on the king's presence in their country, now found their situation irretrievable, every avenue to pardon closed, themselves and their posterity consigned to ruin. Lord Gormanston died of grief ; and his associates, relinquishing all hopes of safety except by arms, united with Mountgarret's forces. These confederates, forming an army of eight thousand foot and some troops of horse, proceeded to attack the earl of Ormond, who with three thousand infantry, five hundred horse, and five pieces of artillery, had marched into the county of Kildare to destroy the possessions of the rebels, and relieve the blockaded castles. Ormond, in his return from Athy, was forced against his will by the enemy to make battle at Kilrush. The confederates made a furious, but confused and unsteady attack. Their left wing was broken at the first charge : their right, after a contest maintained for some time, retired in good order to a neighbouring eminence, but soon fled thence with precipitation. Seven hundred were slain, and the rest dispersed ; but Ormond, destitute of ammunition and provisions, was unable to pursue his advantage. A jewel, in value five hundred pounds, was voted to his lordship for this victory by the English commons, who requested the lords to unite with them in a petition

Battle of
Kilrush.

CHAP.
XXI.

State of
the war.
1642.

petition to his Majesty to create the earl a knight of the garter.

The rebellion which had commenced in Ulster and part of Leinster toward the end of October, had spread through all the provinces before the end of the year, but without union, or any general plan of operations, each body of insurgents following its particular leader, without the acknowledgement of any other authority. The country was nearly reduced to its ancient barbarism, and the war maintained in the ancient manner, by wasting incursions, local contests, and desultory skirmishes, too unimportant in general for the reader's attention. The soldiers of the royal army, wretchedly accommodated as to pay, clothes, and provisions, with their feet bare, and bleeding in their marches through rough roads, frequently sunk under their distresses. The survivors were mutinous; and fresh troops from England, less capable of hardship, vented their vexation by insulting the old army as Irishmen and rebels, which caused some quarrels of an alarming nature.

Operations.

A repulse of the rebels, who returned to assault the town of Trim, after they had been thence dislodged, was rendered remarkable by the death of Sir Charles Coote, whose fall is believed to have been pleasing to the lords justices, as his enterprising spirit accorded not with their plan of warfare. In Connaught, the fort of Galway, besieged by the citizens, was relieved by lord Clanricard, who intimidated the besiegers into an agreement, that hostilities should be suspended, and the town taken into his Majesty's protection, till the royal pleasure should be

be known. This accommodation, which discouraged the insurgents of Connaught, Clanricard endeavoured to render more extensive, that the devastation of the country might be prevented, and the people, having leisure to reflect on their rashness, might be induced to return to their allegiance. But the justices, with different views, severely censured the accommodation of Galway, and commanded all officers to grant no protections, to hold no correspondence with Irish or papists, and to prosecute all rebels and their harbourers with fire and sword. These orders are said to have been executed without distinction of sex, and sometimes even of age, by some bodies of the army, among which the regiment of Sir William Cole is recorded with horrible applause by the historian Borlase, perhaps with boastful exaggeration, as having starved and famished of the vulgar sort, whose goods were seized by this regiment, seven thousand !” Roused to desperation, the insurgents, among other acts of hostility, besieged the lord president, Jones lord Ranelagh, in Athlone ; but the siege was raised on the approach of Ormond, who was thence recalled hastily to Dublin, lest some enterprize of moment should be undertaken by him.

In Munster, the leaders of the rebels having come to a reconciliation, and being joined by lord Muskerry, a branch of the noble Irish family of Clancarthy, laid siege to Cork, and seemed on the point of success, when, dismayed by the defeat of their friends at Kilrush, and attacked by the garrison, which had been reinforced by a thousand men from England, they

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they sustained a discomfiture. But Saintleger the lord president, hardly able to procure a wretched subsistence for his men, was unable to pursue his advantage, and fell a victim to vexation by a lingering malady. His successor, lord Inchiquin, of the noble Irish house of O'Brien, was obliged, notwithstanding ten thousand pounds remitted from England, to make a desperate attempt to save his men from famine. With only two thousand, he marched against the enemy advantageously posted, to the number of seven thousand foot and five hundred horse, near the castle of Lisscarrol. After an engagement supported for some time with spirit by the rebels, he gained a complete victory, from which no other advantage accrued, than that he was enabled to distribute his troops into small garrisons, whereby they obtained a wretched maintenance. Lord Forbes, by appointment of the English parliament, without the royal commission, had arrived at Kinsale with twelve hundred men, raised by the subscriptions of adventurers. Accompanied by a fanatic chaplain, the famous Hugh Peters, and influenced by a puritanic spirit, he refused to unite with any Irish however loyal, or with any except the *Godly*. After some wasting excursions, here and about Galway, without distinction of loyalists and rebels, except where his fury was particularly directed against loyalists, he returned without the performance of other service than the strengthening of the rebel cause by the excitement of additional detestation against the English. Among acts of this tendency was the defacement of Saint Mary's church at Galway, and

and the burning of the coffins and bones of persons there interred, CHAP.
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A treaty after much delay was concluded with the Scottish parliament for the sending of ten thousand men for the reduction of Ulster, to whose generals the conduct of the war in that quarter was exclusively committed. About the middle of April the first division, under Robert Monroe, took possession of Carrickfergus, and, being joined by eighteen hundred foot and some cavalry of the royal army, advanced and reduced the castle of Newry, while that of Carlingford was delivered to Sir Henry Tichburne. Sir Phelim O'Neal, setting fire to Armagh, while his barbarous followers butchered the unhappy protestants still remaining in their power, withdrew to Charlemount, and many of his associates, even persons of distinction, fled in consternation to various places of concealment. Monroe, who had private instructions from those who were connected with the leaders of the English commons, could by no entreaties of the English officers be persuaded to prosecute his advantage. Leaving a garrison of three hundred in Newry, where he had put sixty men and eighteen women to death, he retired to Carrickfergus, whence he made an excursion into the country, and committed an act of baseness unworthy of an officer. Visiting Randal Macdonnell, earl of Antrim, a catholic, in his castle of Dunluce, with the appearance of amity, and entertained hospitably by him, he made the earl a prisoner, and committed his castle and other possessions to the custody of the Scottish troops. These troops were so employed in the plundering of the country, and

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and the exporting of vast herds of cattle to Scotland, that the rebels were left entirely unmolested, and gained spirits from two months of inaction to reassemble under Sir Phelim. Encountered by Sir Robert, and Sir William Stewart, English officers, the rebels, after a fiercer action than had hitherto happened this war in Ulster, were defeated with the loss of five hundred slain, many wounded, and many taken prisoners. The English commanders, refused all assistance by Monroe, were with noble resolution proceeding, under a complication of difficulties, to improve their advantage, when they were obliged to desist from all further operations against the insurgents by a mandate from the earl of Leven, who was preparing to embark with the main body of the Scottish auxiliaries.

Owen
O'Neal.

When in the following July the Scots made some shew of an intention to act with some vigour, the chiefs of the rebels resolved in council to abandon a desperate cause, and seek refuge in foreign countries. The execution of this design was prevented by the long expected arrival of Owen O'Neal, who landed in Donegal from Dunkirk with a hundred officers, and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. This officer, a kinsman of Sir Phelim, had served with reputation in the Austrian and Spanish armies. Prudent, experienced in military operations, cautious, and more circumspect than enterprizing, he was well fitted for the species of service on which he was now entering, a defensive warfare. Chosen generalissimo of the northern confederacy, to the secret mortification of Sir Phelim, he proceeded to strengthen his post

at

at Charlemount, expecting an attack ; but he was permitted to proceed unmolested in his preparations, though the earl of Leven, who had arrived with the rest of the Scottish auxiliaries, commanded a force of twenty thousand foot and a thousand cavalry. The earl, having passed the river Bann into Tyrone, and sent a letter to O'Neal, expressing surprize that a man of his reputation should have come to Ireland to support so bad a cause, received for answer, that O'Neal's coming for the relief of his country was more reasonable than his lordship's march into England against his king. The earl, as if this had been the sole object of his expedition, returned into Scotland, leaving the command of the army to Monroe. This army, restrained to inactivity, and unsupplied from England, was left to struggle, in the several quarters through which it was distributed, with the miseries of cold and famine, like the troops in other provinces.

The rebels of Ulster, who might have been easily overwhelmed, gained courage from a conduct of their enemies imputed to cowardice, and their associates in other parts were also encouraged by supplies from abroad, procured by their agents in foreign countries, particularly from cardinal Richlieu, the great minister of France, who wished to give employment at home to the English, lest they should intermeddle with his political plans on the continent. Two vessels from Dunkirk arrived at Wexford with arms and ammunition. Colonel Thomas Preston, a brother of lord Gormanston, an officer of experience and reputation, followed in a ship of war, accompanied

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panied by two frigates, and six other vessels, laden with heavy and light cannons, other warlike stores, a number of engineers, and five hundred officers. Twelve other ships from Nantes, Saint-Maloës, and Rochelle, brought artillery, small arms, and ammunition, with many Irish officers and veteran soldiers discharged from the French service. By such supplies were the insurgents enabled even to employ armed vessels to cruise in the Irish channel, by which the communication with England was interrupted, and scarcity increased in the capital from the capture of several ships laden with provisions.

Numbers
massacred.

Owen O'Neal, though a bigot in religion, was so ennobled in mind by his service in foreign armies, that, to his immortal honour, he manifested the utmost horror at the barbarities committed by Sir Phelim and his followers. The surviving prisoners he dismissed in safety to Dundalk, immediately on his arrival; and, setting fire to the houses of the most notorious murderers, he declared that he would rather join the English than suffer those wretches to escape with impunity, who had disgraced their cause by base unmanly massacres. To attempt to ascertain the number of protestants cruelly put to death in cold blood by the miscreants of Sir Phelim, would be as vain useless. From a hundred and fifty thousand to thirty thousand and less, have the numbers been conjectured by historians. A calculation by Warner, whose history of this rebellion is full and faithful, founded on positive evidence and strict enquiries, rose only to about four thousand slain by violent hands, and eight thousand by ill usage. More might have perished and escaped research.

The

The colonists in many parts of Leinster had been driven from their homes, at the commencement of the rebellion, in so miserable a state, that numbers perished, and those who escaped to Dublin exhibited a spectacle of distress hideous to human feeling. Massacres were also committed by troops employed against the rebels, and doubtless many thousands, by indiscriminate carnage, suffered for the guilt of others. Both parties inflicted and sustained unutterable calamities, and the posterity of both ought so to profit from the experience of recorded events, as to live in that christian amity, without which *neither of them can be, nor can deserve to be, prosperous.*

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Means had been some time employed to unite the Irish of all the provinces under one authority which might give a consistent form and appearance of legality to their plan. For this purpose a provincial synod of clergy was held at Armagh by the romish prelate of that see; and afterward in May a general synod from all the provinces at Kilkenny. Here, with the concurrence of lay nobility and gentry, were nominated the members of a supreme council, of which lord Mountgarret was president, and a national convention was appointed to meet in the same place in the ensuing October. Accordingly came together the romish lords, prelates, and other clergy, deputies from the several counties and principal towns of every province, who agreed to declare that their assembly was not to be considered as a parliament, but a general meeting for the regulation of their affairs, until his Majesty's wisdom should settle the present

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present troubles. The convention, in parliamentary form, consisted of two orders, the temporal peers and prelates on one side, the representative deputies on the other; but both sat in one chamber. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, already mentioned, sat bareheaded on a stool as a substitute to the judges. Nicholas Plunket, another distinguished partizan, was appointed speaker. The lords had their place of retirement for private conversation, and their resolutions were communicated by Darcy to the commons.

By this convention was assigned to each county a council of twelve persons, who were impowered to decide in all matters cognizable by justices of the peace, pleas of the crown, suits for debt, and personal actions, and to nominate all county officers, except the high sheriff. From these lay appeals to provincial councils, each of which consisted of two deputies from each county in the province, appointed to meet four times a year, and to act, under some limitations, as judges of assize. From the provincial councils lay appeals to what was styled the *supreme council of the confederate Catholics of Ireland*, consisting of twenty-four persons chosen by the general convention. Of these, twelve were to reside at Kilkenny or some other convenient town: no fewer than nine could compose a council; and for decision in any case the concurrence was necessary of two thirds of the sitting members. To this assembly was committed the conduct of the war, the command of all officers military and civil, and the choice of sheriffs out of three nominated by each county council.

For

For the security and honour of this body a guard was assigned of two hundred cavalry and five hundred foot. CHAP.
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The general assembly commanded all persons to be faithful to the king, and to maintain his just prerogative; but they utterly denied the authority of his Irish government administered in Dublin, by a "malignant party, to his highness's great disservice, and in compliance with their confederates, the malignant party of England." They professed to accept, as their rule of government, the common law of England with the statutes of Ireland, so far as they were consistent with their liberties, and not adverse to the roman religion. They declared their resolution to maintain the rights and immunities of the roman catholic church, agreeably to the Great charter; yet the lay impropiators, who made these professions, treated with scorn and ridicule the demands of the clergy for the restoration of their ecclesiastical possessions. An oath of association was administered conformably to their declarations, in which, among other articles, were promised obedience to the orders of the supreme council, and the declining of all pardon or protection from the enemy without the consent of the major part of this council. The general synod had denounced excommunication against all who should refuse the oath, and severe censures against all of their party who should commit murders and other cruelties. The generals appointed for the conduct of the war were Owen O'Neal for Ulster, Preston for Leinster, Garret Barry for Munster, and Colonel John Burke for Connaught with the title of lieutenant general only, as the chief command of the
last

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last was reserved for lord Clanricard ; but this noble man remained immoveably attached to his loyalty, unshaken by entreaties, menaces, and even excommunications of the clergy. Much secret dissension prevailed among the members. The most moderate and wise abhorred, or affected to abhor, the atrocious cruelties of the first insurgents, and wished to have the civil war considered as commencing only from the meeting of this assembly, that it might be clear from the disgrace of those massacres. The original leaders, whose characters had been tarnished by the murderous conduct of their followers, were neglected, much to their mortification, as Sir Pheelim, and even Roger Moore, whose temper was far more generous and humane. The death of the latter, which happened soon after, is supposed to have been not displeasing to the members, as his resentment might have been dangerous.

Lord Castlehaven.

A new associate of the confederates was Touchet, earl of Castlehaven, who had, on the first intelligence of rebellion, hastened to Dublin to tender his services to government. Rejected as a catholic, refused leave to go to England or even to reside in Dublin, he retired to the county of Kilkenny, where he lived not only in an inoffensive manner, but also in the exercise of active humanity, protecting the English in his neighbourhood. Transmitting, as a mediator, a letter to the lords justices from the lords of the Pale who requested permission to assemble to prepare a representation of their grievances, he was reprimanded severely for corresponding with rebels, and again denied liberty to depart from Ireland. Indicted

dicted of high treason on the most futile evidence, he hastened to Dublin, conscious of innocence; but was imprisoned without a hearing. Failing to procure the privilege of being tried by his peers, he contrived to escape; and, arriving at Kilkenny, enflamed with resentment, he joined the confederates, and was appointed to command the cavalry of Leinster under general Preston.

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While the Irish confederates were thus acquiring union and force, the loyalists were divided, by the contests between the king and the English parliament, into two parties, which may be termed royalists and parliamentarians. In their preparations for a civil war, and after its commencement, which had place in the August of 1642, between the king and parliament, both parties were assiduous in their endeavours to gain the army of Ireland. The lords justices and their dependants were the decided adherents of the parliament: the greater part of the army, influenced by Ormond, favoured the royal cause. To enable this commander to serve his Majesty more effectually, he was created a marquis, and was rendered independent of the earl of Leicester, the non-resident lord lieutenant. Among other engines employed by the justices were puritanical preachers, who laboured to enflame the protestants against the king. To screen one of these, whose violence drew the attention of the Irish parliament, the chief governors prorogued the assembly. This body, reduced to a small number by the expulsion of recusants, had been seldom convened, and hardly transacted any business of moment, except violent resolutions against popery, calculated

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and parliamentarians.
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to exasperate the insurgents to desperation. Reynolds and Goodwin, parliamentary agents, who brought a momentary relief of twenty thousand pounds to the army, with some ammunition, were admitted, together with lord Lisle, son of lord Leicester, one of the same party, into the privy council, without any warrant from the king. Instead of exertions against the common enemy, measures were pursued for the embarrassment of those who were attached to the royal cause, particularly the marquis of Ormond and the earl of Clanricarde.

That no accounts of the affairs of Ireland should be transmitted to the English parliament or king through any other medium than that of their own representations, was an especial piece of policy of the lords justices. Lord Ranelagh, abandoning in despair his presidency of Connaught, with intention to lay before his Majesty the state of affairs, and the conduct of the justices, was arrested in Dublin on his way, accused as the author of the army's misfortunes in his province in a charge of seventy-four articles, and denied liberty to have a copy of the charge, or permission to defend his cause before his sovereign. But the officers of the troops in Leinster could not be so prevented, encouraged in their design by the earl of Kildare. Having addressed the parliament and privy council with little benefit, they demanded license for their agent to repair with their statement of affairs to his Majesty. The agents of the English parliament, visiting every garrison, endeavoured to divert them from their purpose by entreaties, and by the menace of being for ever abandoned

doned by the parliament. The justices, after not only a refusal of the license, but even an embargo on the shipping to prevent the sailing of the army's agent, were at length obliged to yield; and the address of the troops was presented to the king, who could only express his concern for their sufferings, and his thanks for their services. A strong instance is recorded of mean tyranny in the justices exerted on this occasion. For a momentary supply to moderate the discontents of the army, an order had been made by the privy council, that every one should contribute half his plate. Anthony Martin, bishop of Meath, who had been plundered by the rebels declaring that he had no plate, nor other property than a few *old gowns*, was for this harmless expression committed to prison, and obliged to petition the king for relief.

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Much better informed than before of Irish affairs by the address and agent of the officers, Charles began to turn his attention much more to this country. As the war in Ireland had been made an engine to his detriment, he wished a pacification, and hoped that, in that case, an army might hence be drawn to England, to assist him in the dangerous contest in which he was involved with his English parliament, who threatened to bring against him the additional force of the Scottish armies. The leaders of the insurgents had successively applied through the earls of Castlehaven and Clanricarde, and the marquis of Ormond, for a cessation of arms, until their complaints should be heard and decided by their sovereign: the lords justices, who had hitherto been inexorable

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on that subject, were now, by Ormond's authority, obliged to transmit a copy of the petition ; but they sent along with it their own remarks, and a request to his Majesty to reject it, as they asserted that the granting of it would be " inconsistent with the means of raising a considerable revenue to the crown, and establishing religion and civility in Ireland." Charles, with a reprimand for the omission, peremptorily ordered the justices to transmit to him the original ; and in the mean time the general assembly at Kilkenny renewed their application. A commission was therefore issued under the great seal of England, to the marquis of Ormond, the earls of Clanricarde and Roscommon, lord viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Burke, esquire, to confer with the principal recusants and to transmit their proposals. Goodwin and Reynolds, the agents of the English parliament, after fruitless efforts to prevail on the army to sign a remonstrance against the commission, had fled from Ireland, when the king, encouraged by the attachment of his Irish soldiery, sent an order for their imprisonment.

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The lords justices, endeavouring by military exertions, when other measures had failed, to frustrate the negociation, peremptorily refused a cessation of arms, and, quite contrary to their general plan, shewed a disposition to employ the troops actively. For the reduction of Ross and Wexford, a business recommended before by Ormond, but on the most futile pretences declined by the chief governors, an army was appointed, of which the command was intended

tended for lord Lisle. They could not prevent Ormond, who, contrary to their views, put himself at the head of this force, but they withheld the provisions necessary for his success. The marquis drove the enemy from several posts, and, relying on the arrival of stores, which the justices had engaged to send by sea to Duncannon, he formed the siege of Ross. Repulsed in an assault on the town, into which the enemy had thrown two thousand men, and having only three days provisions, as he had been totally disappointed by the justices, he was necessitated to raise the siege; but his situation, at the distance of above seventy miles from Dublin, would have been totally desperate, if general Preston, who occupied a defile with a much superior army of six thousand foot and six hundred and fifty horse, and was thus enabled to prevent his escape, had maintained this position. Preston, in full confidence of an easy victory, over an enemy enfeebled by scantiness of food and the cold of winter, rushed from his strong post into the plain. Ormond availed himself of this opportunity by a skilful disposition and spirited attack. The Irish troops, thrown into confusion, and vigorously pressed without being allowed time to rally, were defeated with the loss of five hundred of their number, and all their ammunition and baggage. The defeated army was saved from destruction by the behaviour of the English cavalry, who, under lord Lisle, abandoned the foot, as soon as the victory was gained, leaving Ormond to his shifts, who might have been again attacked by Preston, if the latter had not prevented his own return

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turn across the Barrow by demolishing the bridge on that river in his flight.

The indignation of Ormond, at the treatment which he had received, was not diminished by the condition to which he found, on his return, the capital reduced by those wretched governors, who would neither allow peace nor effective war. The inhabitants were exhausted by the maintenance of the army. Strangers were expelled, and thousands of despoiled English were from want of subsistence transported to their own country. Merchants were despoiled of their goods to supply the necessities of the state; while the soldiers were mutinous, exasperated by their distresses and repeated disappointments. The officers petitioned the Irish parliament, representing their sufferings, and the villainy of some agents who had aggravated their misery by light and adulterated coin: but the justices, who dreaded all complaints which might be pleaded in favour of peace with the rebels, prevented the examination of the case by a sudden prorogation. To encrease the rage of the enemy, they commanded some prisoners taken in battle to be instantly executed by martial law; and they obstinately refused to admit to bail the gentry who had, on their voluntary submission, been committed to severe custody in the castle of Dublin. In the words of Leland, "they had exerted themselves so vigorously, that indictments of treason were found against these and above a thousand more in the space of two days; and, with a shameless outrage on decency, a memorial was publicly read at the council board, from a friend
of

of Sir William Parsons, representing his merits in expending sums of money, for procuring witnesses on these indictments."

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Emboldened by the adherence of most of the army to his cause, the king, to smoothe the way to a pacification, ventured to remove Parsons from the office of lord justice, and to nominate Sir Henry Tichburne in his place. The state of the kingdom seemed imperiously to demand an accommodation with the insurgents. The soldiers were unpaid, and unable any longer to procure subsistence in their several quarters from the miserably exhausted inhabitants. Pressed on one side by the practices of parliamentary officers, on the other by the virulence of the Romish clergy, who denounced the severest censures of the church on all who should refuse the oath of association, lord Clanricard saw the important post of Galway in the hands of the insurgents, and a high probability of the few remaining fortresses in Connaught yielding to their efforts. In Munster, when lord Inchiquin, to save them from famine, withdrew the several garrisons, and sent them to range the country for provisions, one of his parties commanded by Sir Charles Vavasor, suffered, in a defeat by lords Muskerry and Castlehaven, the loss of six hundred men slain on the field of battle, seven hundred muskets, and all the cannon and baggage. In Ulster, where the British force was greatest, Monroe, who had been obliged to rouse his troops from inaction to procure subsistence, was repulsed with loss by Owen O'Neal; and, though the latter was afterwards discomfited by the English troops

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troops under Sir Robert Stewart, yet this Irish leader, well supplied by the supreme council, acted with superiority, unmolested by his unsupplied adversaries. Failing in their most earnest entreaties to the English parliament for relief, the lords justices, as a last violent expedient in the then miserable state of the kingdom, established by their own authority an excise; but though the tax amounted to half the value of the goods, no assistance of any moment was thereby obtained.

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Negotiation with the insurgents—Troops sent to England—Earl of Antrim—State of the country—Covenant—Negotiation at Oxford—Inchiquin's revolt—Ormond's negotiation—Glamorgan's negotiation—Rinuccini's proceedings—Discovery of Glamorgan's treaty—His arrest—His defense—His liberation—His commission disavowed by the king—Ormond's negotiation renewed—Opposition of the nuncio—Treaty concluded.

WHEN the royal commission had been issued for treating with the Irish insurgents, these had acquired pride from success. The supreme council haughtily resented the term *rebellion* inserted in the commission, and insisted that no such expression should be used in future in any instrument addressed to them; nor without the exertions of lord Castlehaven and other moderate persons could the business be so far managed, that a time and place of conference could be fixed. On the seventeenth of March, four commissioners of the king met six agents of the supreme council, at the town of Trim, where the former received from the latter the remonstrance of their grievances, and petition for redress. Among the many grievances enumerated in this remonstrance, in which they made a solemn protestation of their loyalty, were the acts of the English parliament in favour of adventurers, tending to despoil the Irish of

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of their lands, without distinction, or possibility of relief, and subversive of the fundamental constitution of Ireland, whose inhabitants could in right be bound only by acts of an Irish parliament. They proposed that a parliament should be convened in such a place and manner as to deliberate without control, from which on no account should catholics be excluded. A legislative assembly, the majority of whose members would be elected by the insurgents, was regarded as inadmissible by Ormond, and he contrived to evade the demand, when, after the removal of Parsons from the government, he treated with the general convention about a cessation of arms, preparative to a lasting pacification. To screen himself from the odium which this armistice must excite among the puritans, he proposed to the governors and privy council, that they should suggest some other mode for the preservation of the kingdom; and afterwards proposed that they should furnish him with ten thousand pounds, one half in money, the other in victuals, for his prosecution of the war. Having received their declarations of inability in both cases, he proceeded to meet the agents of the Irish convention at Castlemartyn in the county of Kildare.

Dissatisfied with the terms proposed by these agents, Ormond suspended the negociation, to try whether he could lower their tone by military operations; but was unable to force Preston to a battle, and the affairs of the loyalists continued to decline. Violent opposition was made to an accommodation in the assembly at Kilkenny, particularly by Peter Scarampi,

Scarampi, a father of the congregation of the oratory, who, as minister of the pope, had brought supplies of money and ammunition, and, among other papers, a bull, by which was granted a general jubilee, and plenary absolution to those who had taken arms for the catholic religion. But the wiser catholics, particularly lord Castlehaven, laboured for pacific measures, sensible that the puritanic party in England, if it should obtain the sovereign power by humbling the king, would shew them no mercy, but even aim at their extermination. A resolution at length passed, after much altercation and delay, that the agents of the confederacy should meet the marquis of Ormond at Sigginstown near Naas. This nobleman had received a new commission under the great seal, empowering him to treat for an armistice for one year, on such terms as he should judge necessary; and the king, to prevent opposition to this design, had ordered the chief partizans of the English parliament in Dublin, Parsons, Loftus, Temple, and Meredyth, to be committed to prison on a charge of high crimes and misdemeanours. A treaty of cessation, at length finally adjusted, and declared necessary for his Majesty's honour and service under the signatures of several nobles and principal officers, was signed on the fifteenth of September by the marquis and the Irish commissioners, by which the Irish confederates stipulated for the payment of thirty thousand pounds to the king, one half in money at several payments, and the other half in cattle.

This

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This treaty of armistice, reprobated on one side by violent and injudicious catholics, who affected to think the progress of their prosperity thereby arrested; on the other by puritans, who abhorred a pacification with popish murderers; was in fact of no real service to the king. Two thousand men, transported to North-Wales by Ormond, and some regiments to the west of England by Inchiquin, all protestant soldiers, many of them English by birth, were represented in England by the parliamentary partizans, as popish murderers, still reeking with the blood of protestants. Sir William Brereton, who commanded for the parliament in North-Wales, transmitted this misrepresentation to London, while, in his letters to the officers of these troops, he extolled their bravery in defence of the protestant religion, and laboured to seduce them into the service of the parliament against the king. Lord Byron, the commander, reinforced by an additional body of fourteen hundred and forty men from Ireland, was, after some successes near Chester, defeated at Nantwich by Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the loss of all his artillery, baggage, ammunition, twelve hundred of his men made prisoners, and most of the principal officers. Some of the privates had deserted to Fairfax in the battle, and many of the prisoners enlisted on the parliament's side. Though Byron, who retired to Chester, was again reinforced from Ireland, nothing of moment was effected by the troops sent by Ormond. Some of the transports, which carried them, were intercepted by ships of war belonging to the parliament, and cruelties exercised on

on their crews from the rage of civil and religious bigotry. Thus, when a ship with a hundred and fifty men, bound to Bristol, was taken, Swanley, the parliamentary commander, selected seventy men of Irish birth, who, though they had served faithfully against the Irish rebels, were precipitated without mercy into the sea.

While the protestant forces from Ireland proved ineffectual for the royal service, the confederate Irish, who hoped to extort concessions from the king, great in proportion to his distresses, sent him no assistance, notwithstanding their magnificent promises, and the entreaties of Ormond, who besought them to save themselves from ruin by preventing the triumph of their enemies, the English puritans. Yet Charles was still amused with hopes, and some endeavours were made in his favour by individuals, particularly by the earl of Antrim, who, having twice escaped from Monroe's imprisonment, was created a marquis, on his proposal to lead ten thousand Irish into England for the royal service, and to detach three thousand into Scotland, against the covenanters, who were arming to assist the English parliament. Having returned into Ireland with a recommendation from the queen to the marquis of Ormond, and having addressed himself to the supreme council in Kilkenny, who refused or evaded all his demands, he resolved, if possible, to carry his point by the closest union. He therefore, at the hazard of his own injury, and the utmost scandal to the royal cause, took the oath of association, as a constituent of the Irish confederacy, was sworn a member

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member of the supreme council, and appointed lieutenant-general of all their forces, engaging to act under no other than their commission, and to transport no troops without their consent. After this great sacrifice, he was still disappointed by the insincerity of the confederates and other obstacles; and all his projects at last ended in the transporting of two thousand men to Scotland, long after he had given assurance of an immediate and powerful reinforcement to the marquis of Montrose, the great partizan of the king in that quarter.

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try.

Ormond meanwhile, appointed to the office of chief governor, under the title of lord lieutenant, an office which he had some time before declined, was obliged to struggle with a complication of difficulties. Various disputes arose between the English and Irish troops about their respective quarters. By some of the latter the armistice was still observed; and some parties even refused to admit a cessation from the orders of the supreme council, till they were reduced by the arms of lord Castlehaven. Nor could the English soldiery be always restrained from plundering, while the subsidies promised by the Irish confederacy to the king were irregularly and slowly paid. In Ulster Monroe disclaimed the treaty, and received orders from the Scottish parliament to continue his hostilities. Nor could the English troops in that province be kept steady to the royal cause by the efforts of the chief governor. To procure the aid of the Scottish arms against the king, a *solemn league and covenant* had been framed and subscribed by the antiroyalists throughout Britain, in which,
among

among other obligations, the subscribers engaged to defend one another against all opponents, and to endeavour to extirpate popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness, and to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments together with the king's authority. Owen O'Connolly, who had become an adherent of the English parliament, brought letters from that body to the British colonels in Ulster, with promises of their arrears, and ample provision for their future maintenance, on condition of their disclaiming the armistice and entering into the covenant. While the English officers on one hand refused to read at the head of their regiments Ormond's proclamation against the covenant, and on the other returned conciliating, but evasive, answers to the agents of the parliament, four ministers of the Scottish church arrived for the tendering and enforcement of this obligation, together with agents who brought a supply of clothing, provisions, and ten thousand pounds for the army. 1644.

When all the Scottish troops had taken the covenant, and many of the English in Ulster, notwithstanding the menaces of government, and Ormond's proclamation, which some of their colonels at length ventured to read at the head of their regiments, a commission was received by Monroe, under the broad seal of the English parliament, empowering him to command all the forces of Ulster, Scottish and English, under their authority, and to maintain the war against all the enemies of the covenanters. While the English royalists were consulting in Belfast what answer they should return to Monroe's requisition of their

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their obedience, that general surprized the town, and proceeded thence to attempt the same at Liffburn, but was foiled by the spirit and vigilance of the officers in that garrison. The calamities of a war, which threatened to commence between the British forces in Ulster, was prevented by mutual fear, on one side of the far superior numbers of the Scots, on the other of the determined courage of the English. An agreement was made that the latter should not be obliged to take any oath contrary to their consciences, until they should have represented their scruples to the English parliament; that they should be in the same situation with the Scots in respect of provisions and privileges; and should prosecute the war against the Irish rebels in conjunction with Monroe, unless they should hereafter be countermanded by his Majesty.

Alarmed at the proceedings of the British troops in Ulster, the confederate Irish at Kilkenny detached Castlehaven to support Owen O'Neal, and made private overtures to Ormond to take the command of their forces, as royalists, and required that he should proclaim the Scots rebels, as infractors of the armistice. To avoid the danger of a command which would blend the rightful power of the king with the usurped authority of insurgents, and also the danger of causing a revolt of his protestant soldiery by proclaiming adherence to the English parliament rebellion, the marquis contrived a negotiation to amuse the confederates, who, if irritated by an abrupt refusal, might withhold the remaining part of their stipulated subsidy. He required time for the receiving

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ing of instructions from the king in a point so momentous, and engaged to restrain meanwhile the Scots within due bounds, if the Irish would furnish maintenance for a royal army of six thousand infantry and six hundred horse. In the time which elapsed in this negociation, the apprehensions vanished of danger from the violence of Monroe, whose inclination or ability failed for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

While Ormond was thus employed in Ireland, a negociation had been opened immediately with the king at Oxford, where he was met by commissioner, from the Irish confederates on the twenty-third of March 1644. Their demands were at first so exorbitant, virtually implying the extinction of the English power in Ireland, that the king and his ministers expressed a determination to hold no further conference with them. They then made more moderate proposals, the lowest, they said, which they could possibly devise consistently with the liberty of Irish subjects. Among these was the absolute freedom of their religion; a free parliament with a suspension of Poyning's law; seminaries in Ireland for the education of catholic lawyers and clergy; a release of debts and a general act of oblivion; a formal act for the complete independency of their parliament on that of England; the exclusion from this parliament of all persons not estated and resident in Ireland; a parliamentary inquiry into all breaches of quarter and acts of inhumanity committed by both parties in Ireland, and the exclusion of all persons guilty of such crimes from the act of

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oblivion. Their memorial was accepted as the foundation of a treaty, which was hoped to be practicable by mutual concessions ; but the violence of Irish parties, both protestant and catholic, obstructed its completion, notwithstanding the monarch's impatience, who was eager for the promised succours of ten thousand catholic soldiers from this country.

Charles had ordered that some persons of experience should be sent from the Irish privy council to assist in this treaty, and archbishop Usher with eight others had been nominated, out of whom the king chose four. But a deputation of six persons, appointed by an assembly of zealous protestants in the earl of Kildare's house, arrived before these at Oxford, and presented their petition. Among the demands of this deputation were a rigorous execution of all penal statutes against recusants, the disarming of all that party, the compelling of them to repair all damages sustained by protestants, the punishment of their offences without pardon or mitigation, the taking of all forfeited estates into the king's own hands, and, after satisfaction made to such as claimed by former acts of parliament, the disposal of the residue entirely to British planters. From these proposals they refused to recede in the smallest degree, though the execution was impossible in the then existing circumstances. The commissioners of the Irish privy council condemned the extravagance of these demands, yet made also impracticable proposals, particularly the disarming of all recusants, and the enforcement of the penal statutes. To the agents of the confederate Irish the king behaved with much condescension

condescension, made several concessions for the present, and conciliating promises for the future, but without any special or explicit engagement in the latter, and pathetically admonished them of the danger which would arise from the delay of their assistance, as his enemies, if they should once destroy him, would without difficulty extirpate their nation and religion. The agents confessed, with a modest demeanour, that his Majesty, circumstanced as he was, could not, in their opinion, make any further concessions, and hoped that the general assembly, when informed of his situation, would moderate their demands, though they themselves had no authority to recede from them. The king in his perplexity resolved to lay the burthen of negotiation on Ormond, and issued a commission to the marquis to make a full peace with the catholic subjects of Ireland, on such conditions as he should judge agreeable to the public welfare, and conducive to such a state of affairs, that his Majesty might draw assistance from this kingdom against his rebels of England and Scotland.

An alarming revolt had in the mean time arisen in Munster, where lord Inchiquin had sometime commanded as lord president, but without the title. This nobleman, finding that the honour of this office, so justly merited by his zealous exertions in the royal service, was, on groundless insinuations of his disaffection, denied to him, and given to the earl of Portland, resolved through revenge to revolt to the English parliament. *To treat an innocent man*

Inchiquin's
revolt.
1644.

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as a rebel is the readiest way to make him one. Encouraged by promises of large supplies from the English parliament, he engaged his brother, who commanded in Wareham in England, to betray it to their troops, and, expelling the Romish inhabitants of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, he bound by an oath his army, who readily took the covenant, to endeavour the extirpation of popery, and to submit to no peace with the Irish without consent of his new friends. He persuaded lord Esmond, governor of Duncannon fort, to follow his example; and the Scots of Ulster promised to co-operate with vigour; so that the war would have been renewed with fury, if Inchiquin had not been neglected by the parliament, and thereby obliged, for the preservation of his troops and the protestants of Munster, to agree to an armistice. On the expiration of the truce, he was obliged to retire into Cork from the superior arms of lord Castlehaven, who, with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, overran the country, and invested Youghal; but raised the siege and retired, when lord Broghil arrived with some supplies from the English parliament. Henry O'Brien, the betrayer of Wareham, had fallen into his hands, and been sent prisoner to the king. The fort of Duncannon, after a siege of ten weeks, had surrendered in March to Preston; and Esmond, the governor, died in a few days after, enfeebled by age and vexation.

Ormond's
negotiation.
1645.

A long protracted negotiation was in the mean time in procedure between the confederates and Ormond, who was left to the direction of his own judgment,

judgment, without instructions from the king or his ministers. He had met their commissioners in Dublin, on the sixth of September of the foregoing year ; but as their demands were exorbitant, the same which they had at first made to the king at Oxford, he only transmitted these and his answers to his sovereign, and adjourned the treaty to the following January : and, as the agents employed on this occasion were captured by a parliamentary ship, the business lay suspended till the tenth of the ensuing April. It was again suspended in fact by the Irish commissioners, who declared that, as the general assembly was to meet on the fifteenth of May, they could come to no conclusion without the approbation of that body, being only empowered to deliver their proposals, and to reason on their propriety. A kind of private negotiation was all the while maintained by the confederate catholics, through their agents, lord Muskerry, Nicholas Plunket, and Geoffry Browne, with the king, who became gradually more compliant, and at last commanded Ormond to make peace with the Irish, *whatever it should cost*, so that his protestant subjects might be secured, and his royal authority preserved in Ireland, Sensible of the dangers which might arise to his master, to himself, and to the state, from humiliating concessions, the marquis petitioned to be removed from his government : but this could not with safety be granted, as his loyalty and influence were considered to be the chief support of the royal cause against the power of the catholics, and the subtilty and turbulence of the covenanters ; particularly since he had at that time discovered

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discovered and defeated a scheme of the latter for the seizure of Dublin, Drogheda, and Dundalk. To reconcile him in some degree to his irksome situation, a general pardon was passed under the great seal to him and others for all offences; and additional powers were conferred upon him, among which was that of pardoning, and restoring to their estates and blood, such individuals of the Irish confederates as would submit on the terms already offered.

As a conciliatory step, the order, which had been made under the administration of Parsons, for the exclusion of recusants from parliament, was annulled, as an encroachment on the royal prerogative; and to prevent the clamours of zealous protestants against this measure, a bill was transmitted from the English court, and enacted in the Irish parliament, for the remission to the protestants of Ireland, both clergy and laity, of all rents, compositions, services, twentieth parts, and first fruits, due to the king at Michaelmas 1641, or at any time since till after the festival of Easter in 1645. Elated by their successes in Leinster and Munster, and by the hope of those aids, which their agents were soliciting abroad, the confederate catholics were intractable in the treaty. While, to raise an idea among foreigners of their consequence, they sent fourteen hundred men into the service of France, and made levies for that of Spain, they denied the earnest requests of Ormond for two thousand men for the king's assistance under Montrose in Scotland, explicitly resolving "that they would send no men to the king's assistance, until such a peace should be settled, as might demonstrate

demonstrate that they had really taken arms for the sake of religion, and to establish it in its full splendour." Yet the marquis, who had so reasoned with their commissioners, that they departed well disposed apparently to peace, continued still to entertain hopes, that the general assembly must soon declare in the king's favour, from a perception of their own interest. This might have been the case, if the unfortunate monarch, who had conferred on Ormond such discretionary powers, had left the business, without other interference, totally to his management. But though the marquis, for the interest of his royal master, concealed his powers, the sacrifices, which Charles was willing to make for the obtaining of their assistance, became known to the leaders of the confederates, whereby the arrogance and obstinacy of the immoderate was confirmed.

In the general assembly, which met in Kilkenny on the fifteenth of May, Ormond's proposals were received with such apparent temper, that no obstacle to an accommodation seemed to remain except the penal statutes. But the clergy, sitting in convocation, bigoted and ignorant, or ambitious of appearing actuated by a flaming zeal for the church in the eyes of the pope's minister, declaimed with violence, and engaged their followers to protest with vehemence, against any agreement inconsistent with the power and splendour of the catholic establishment in Ireland. Though such proceedings were pronounced seditious and traitorous by the general assembly, the more moderate members of which were highly provoked:

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voked at the clergy, yet such was the influence of the latter, that a stipulation to restore the churches, which had been taken from the protestants, could not be obtained. The confederates rose higher still in their demands, on the news of a dreadful overthrow of the king at Naseby by the army of the parliament, imagining that new concessions might be extorted from the augmented distresses of the monarch. Ormond stated briefly the sum of concessions, the utmost which any extremity of distress could force from the king, among which was a repeal of the penal statutes against recusants. But the cabinet of Charles had fallen into the hands of the parliamentarians in their victory at Naseby, and by the publication of his papers the confederates discovered Ormond's private instructions to conclude a peace *whatever it might cost*. They were enraged at the marquis, and republished the letter with severe animadversions on his conduct. They were besides elevated in hope, and the opinion of their own consequence, by the expectation of the earl of Glamorgan's arrival, and of a nuncio from the pope, the former of whom they regarded as furnished with full powers from the monarch to conclude a treaty with them.

Glamorgan's negotiation.
1645.

Edward Somerset, lord Herbert, styled earl of Glamorgan, son of the marquis of Worcester, of conciliating manners, of a lively and sanguine temper, affectionately attached to the king, had raised a body of troops for the royal service at his own and his father's expence, and had been honoured with marks
of

of royal favour to a very uncommon pitch, particularly by the promise of the princess Elizabeth in marriage, with a portion of three hundred thousand pounds, to his son. He was a zealous catholic, and connected in Ireland by his marriage with Margaret O'Brien, sister of the earl of Thomond. Having declared an intention of a visit to this country on business real or fictitious, he had received a recommendation to Ormond as a person engaged to forward the peace by every possible means, of whose affection and integrity the utmost confidence, but of whose judgment some suspicion, was expressed by his Majesty. Arriving in this kingdom, after many delays, in the end of July, he repaired to Kilkenny, with a recommendation, from Ormond to lord Muskerry, and was received by the confederates with complaisant attention, to whom he produced two commissions from the king, of different dates, empowering him to negotiate a treaty. Notwithstanding some opposition from Abbate Scarampi, the pope's minister, a treaty was concluded on the twenty-fifth of August, the articles of which, including virtually a legal establishment, not only of the Romish worship, but even of the papal jurisdiction, were to remain a secret until circumstances should allow their disclosure. Beside this private compact, for the ratification of which the royal word was engaged by Glamorgan, a public negotiation was maintained with Ormond; and as the former was eager to lead into England the Irish auxiliars, he entreated the marquis to make all the concessions which he was authorized

CHAP. XXIV. authorized to grant, and for the rest to appeal to his Majesty. Articles of a civil nature were soon adjusted; and when Ormond objected to those of religion, the Irish agents, conscious of Glamorgan's private stipulations, proposed that no clause in the treaty with the marquis should preclude the catholics from such further graces as the king might be pleased to grant. This proposal was accepted; and that all demands relative to religion should be referred entirely to the determination of his Majesty, was agreed by both parties.

Rinnecini. A vote was passed by the general assembly, on the
1645. ninth of September, for the levy of ten thousand men for the royal service; and peace appeared to be on the point of a final establishment, when the pope's nuncio arrived on the 12th of November, John Battista Rinnecini, archbishop of Fermo, a noble Florentine, eloquent and conciliating, yet austere in his mode of life, ambitious, vain, and possessed with a fanatical notion that he was destined by Providence for the conversion of the western islands from heresy. Among other instructions from his Holiness, he was directed to unite the catholic prelates of Ireland in a firm declaration for war, until their religion should be completely established, and the government of the kingdom entrusted to a catholic lord lieutenant. The queen of England, then resident in France, fearing, like other catholics of superior understanding, bad consequences from the nuncio's interference in Irish affairs, had vainly attempted to detain him, in his way through the French territories, until the treaty should

should have been finally concluded. His vanity was flattered by a memorial from the catholics of England, whose ultimate object was the extirpation of heresy; and his presumption was augmented, at his arrival at Kilkenny, by a letter from the king, expressive of condescension, delivered by Glamorgan, who also shewed him a sealed letter, directed to the pope from Charles, as a proof of the monarch's attachment to the holy see. He objected both to the public and private treaty, to the articles in favour of religion as insufficient, and particularly to the concealment of them; observing that, if the confederates were afraid of alienating the royalist protestants by the publication of these, they ought to be at least as much afraid of alienating the pope, and all christian princes, by the keeping of them secret. Finding that the supreme council, influenced by the wiser catholics, yielded not to his arguments, he resolved to give all the opposition in his power to their designs.

The nuncio engaged eight Irish prelates at Kilkenny, in a private meeting, to join him in a protestation against the peace, which protestation was not, they resolved, to be produced, "until the treaty should be *abruptly* or *preposterously* concluded by the council." He prevailed on Glamorgan to sign an instrument, as an appendage to his former treaty, whereby he engaged for a catholic hierarchy in parliament, universities under their regulation, the employment of none other than a catholic lord lieutenant, and the continuance of the supreme council's jurisdiction until the complete ratification of all the

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the private articles. What odium might have been excited by the publicity of this instrument, may be conjectured from that which arose from the accidental discovery of the former treaty.

Discovery
of the trea-
ty.

1645.

Alarmed at the attempts of Ormond to draw to the royal service the protestant forces of Ulster, the English parliament, who had neglected these forces, resolved to send them ten thousand pounds, with some clothes and provisions, and a committee of the house to examine their situation, and to hear their complaints. A second Sir Charles Coote, a trusty partizan, commissioned by this parliament to command in Connaught, advancing with four thousand infantry and five hundred horse, on whom he prevailed to follow him from the northern province, took possession of Sligo, and extended his depredations through the neighbouring counties. While lord Taaffe, commissioned by Ormond for that purpose, was proceeding, with the assistance of Clanricarde and others, successfully to oppose these infractors of the armistice, which had been from time to time prolonged, the confederates of Kilkenny commanded Sir James Dillon, one of their officers, to march with eight hundred men to the aid of the Romish archbishop of Tuam, who was collecting troops for the recovery of Sligo. The town was nearly taken by an assault, in which this warlike prelate led the way, when the assailants retreated, on intelligence of a hostile army's approach from the north. They were hotly pursued and routed by Coote; and in the baggage of the archbishop, who fell in the action, was found a complete and authentic copy of Glamorgan's

gan's private treaty with the confederates, containing also a distinct recital of his commission and of his oath to that body. CHAP.
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These papers were immediately sent to the English parliament, who published them, to the exultation of the king's enemies, who had from the beginning charged him with a design to establish popery. Alarmed at the apprehension of a general defection of the protestants from the royal cause, the king's ministers exerted themselves instantly to save his honour. Lord Digby, having enticed Glamorgan to Dublin, under pretence of the adjustment of preliminaries for the transportation of Irish troops to England, charged him before the privy council with a suspicion of high treason, the forging of his commission, or of having exceeded his powers, which must, said Digby, have been limited by private instructions. Committed to custody, and examined by a committee of the privy council, Glamorgan confessed the whole transaction, referring to the counter-part of the articles which he afterwards produced. He utterly denied that he had received any particular instructions from the king for his direction or limitation in the treaty. He declared that he had acted altogether from a zeal for the service of his master, to accelerate the sending of the Irish auxiliars, without obliging the king to any particular articles which he might disapprove, and from which possibly the confederates might be persuaded to recede, rather than they should recall their troops when these should once have been landed in England. In the published copy

Glamor-
gan's arrest
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copy of his oath, an engagement was expressed with force and precision that he should not “ permit the army, entrusted to his charge, to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his Majesty, and by his Majesty be performed.”

But in that which he produced to the council, was found this very material addition—“ or his pleasure known.” To authenticate this addition, and the truth of his declarations, Glamorgan, in a private conference with Ormond, shewed the original of a *defeazance*, signed on the day after that of the signature of his treaty, and by the same parties, which declared that the earl no way intended by his engagements “ to oblige his Majesty, other than he himself should please, after he had received the ten thousand men. Yet he faithfully promised upon his word and honour, not to acquaint his Majesty with this defeazance, till he had endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to induce his Majesty to grant the particulars of the treaty : but that done, the commissioners discharged the earl of Glamorgan, both in honour and conscience, of any farther engagement to them therein, though his Majesty should not be pleased to grant the said particulars : the earl at the same time engaging by his voluntary oath, never to discover this defeazance in the interim to any person whatever, without consent of the commissioners.”

As one of his papers was secreted by the earl, and never published, the transaction is not wholly known ; but the general assembly at Kilkenny, after some few days of recollection, seemed convinced that all the

the severity expressed against Glamorgan, by the government in Dublin, was merely affected; and application was made to Ormond for his immediate release, without which, they said that neither the transportation of the troops, nor the treaty, could be effected. The lord lieutenant and council, affecting to impute his proceedings to an indiscreet zeal for the royal service, liberated him on sureties given for his reappearance, and dismissed him to Kilkenny, with a commission to treat with the confederates for the transportation of troops, the remittance of three thousand pounds to Dublin for the king's army, and the hastening of the treaty with Ormond so long in agitation. The two former were declined, but the negotiation was resumed by the two principal agents of the confederates, Darcy and Browne, who attended the marquis. But difficulties still occurred, as the confederates were offended by the vehement protestation of Digby against the religious articles of Glamorgan's treaty, and by the disavowal of them by the king in his public declaration, who professed that the earl had received a commission merely for the raising of troops in Ireland; none to treat of any other matter without the privity and directions of the lord lieutenant, "much less to capitulate any thing concerning religion." In a letter to Ormond and the privy council he commanded that lord Digby's charge should be thoroughly and diligently prosecuted; but, at the same time, in a private letter to the marquis, he directed that the execution of any sentence against Glamorgan should be suspended, as

the

Negotia-
tion re-
newed.

CHAP. XXIV. the misfortune, which he had brought on all, had proceeded from misguided zeal, not malice; and he contrived to convey secretly to the earl repeated assurances of his confidence and friendship.

The nuncio, who laboured indefatigably for the prevention of any accommodation, without such terms in favour of his religion as could not be obtained or enforced, produced the plan of a treaty, said to have been framed by the pope, and transmitted by his nephew cardinal Pamfilio. Having easily gained most of the clergy to sign a protestation in favour of this plan, he recommended it with all his power to the general assembly, as a treaty formed between the pope and the queen, of which he every day expected the original by Sir Kenelm Digby, the queen's agent at Rome. He also easily gained Glamorgan to his party; but the wiser members of the assembly contended, that the circumstances of the king could not admit any further concessions than those which had been already made through Ormond; and that the catholics ought to rely on his Majesty's inclinations in their favour, manifested by Glamorgan and otherwise. Even some of the ecclesiastics pressed for the conclusion of Ormond's treaty. One of these attested a declaration of the pope, that a connivance was all that could reasonably be expected at present for their religion; and another, with a boldness astonishing to the nuncio, asserted that his tale of a Roman treaty was a slander on the queen, and

and an imposition on the Irish, purposely fabricated to prevent a peace, and to destroy the king.

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Glamorgan exerted his utmost activity to reconcile the opposite parties, and laboured to overcome the opposition of the nuncio by concessions, flattery, and magnificent promises. He signed a convention of a conditional nature with this prelate and some deputies of the general assembly; and he engaged, by a voluntary oath, to support him in his measures against the partizans of Ormond and all others. Notwithstanding a stipulation settled with this papal minister, that no peace should be concluded before the first of May, the time fixed for the expiration of the armistice, a new general assembly, convened on the sixth of March, proceeded, in defiance of the nuncio's protestation, to the conclusion of the treaty with Ormond on the twenty-eighth of the same month. The confederates engaged to transport six thousand well-appointed infantry on the first of April, and four thousand more on the first of the following month. If the troops should not be sent at the times stipulated, (unless they should be prevented by some cause admitted as reasonable by Ormond,) the treaty, which was lodged in Clanricarde's hands, was to be regarded as void, and the counter-parts were to be mutually restored to the respective parties. This treaty, in which nothing farther than toleration was conceded in respect

Treaty
concluded.
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of religion, had been so long delayed as to be totally too late to serve the royal cause. Chester, besieged by the anti-royalists, which the Irish troops were to have been sent to relieve, had surrendered, and the king's affairs in England had become totally desperate.

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peasants, and citizens. But these by constant practice were incessantly acquiring the military art; and, since from their democratical constitution full scope was given to merit, many excellent officers were formed, who, from the rigidity of puritanic morals, and a regular pay, were enabled to retain their men under a salutary discipline; while among the royalists, every man was confined, without regard to talents, to the station in which he had been placed by his birth; and the soldiers, ill paid, and commanded by officers of licentious manners, were not sufficiently attentive to those rules, the observance of which marks the distinction between an army and an armed mob. By these encreasing advantages the parliamentarians at length checked the progress of the king's arms; the accession of the Scottish troops in 1644 turned the balance in their favour; and in the following year the tide of their success was so rapid that the affairs of the royalists went quickly to ruin. The parliamentary rulers, who, with sound policy, had been accustomed to return public thanks for good conduct to their generals, when unsuccessful, had an opportunity in the end of thanking them for victories altogether decisive.

In Scotland, James Graham, marquis of Montrose, at the head of a small body of Irish sent thither by the earl of Antrim, reinforced by some troops of Scottish Highlanders, had performed such exploits, as to leave room for conjecture that, if the ten thousand men, expected from the Irish confederates, had been sent to England at that time, the king's situation would have been widely different. But his rapid

pid career of victory was suddenly stopped by an army recalled from England under David Leslie, CHAP.
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In this deplorable condition of the royal cause the succours of the Irish could be employed to no purpose beyond the limits of their own country; and the confederates of Kilkenny represented to the marquis of Ormond the expediency of employing the Irish troops against the parliamentarians of Ireland, that one kingdom might be reduced under obedience to the crown previously to any attempts elsewhere. Lord Muskerry, their great agent, advised the marquis to take the command of the Irish army for this purpose; and this measure was warmly pressed by Glamorgan, who engaged to bring vast supplies from the continent of arms, ammunition, and shipping. The confederates were rendered more
urgent

Irish affairs,
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urgent in this point by the depredations of Sir Charles Coote in Connaught, and they demanded the immediate union of the protestant royalists with the catholics against the common enemy. This was declined by Ormond until his treaty should be published, and that of Glamorgan suppressed; and with this requisition the confederates complied, intimidated by an ambiguous expression in his answer, which seemed to intimate a threat of his joining the parliamentary party. The publication was for some time prevented by a letter from the king, interdicting the lord lieutenant from engaging in any conditions with the Irish: but lord Digby, arriving from France with a letter from the prince of Wales, which concurred with his own testimony, assured them that the order from the captive monarch had been forcibly obtained, and that he would answer with his life for the king's wish to conclude the treaty; which declaration his lordship entered in the council books and signed with his name. On the twenty-ninth of July the instruments were mutually exchanged, and the council issued a proclamation ratifying the articles of the peace, and commanding all persons strictly to observe them.

Oppositi-
on to the
peace.
1646.

This treaty of peace, so long and with such labour negotiated, was on its final conclusion of no efficacy, despised by the covenanters of Ulster and parliamentarians of Munster, whose plan was the extirpation of the Irish race and popery; by a numerous party of catholics whose plan was the extirpation of the English colonists and heresy; and above all by the nuncio, who absurdly aimed at the spiritual and temporal

temporal subjection of Ireland to the papal see, and considered the king's destruction as a requisite step to the completion of this object. Finding the most powerful party of the confederates, supported by Preston's army, inflexibly adverse to his views, this prelate had applied to Owen O'Neal, and gained him to his side by a present of money, and promises of far greater sums in future. The followers of O'Neal, consisting chiefly of barbarous rovers called *creaghts*, who led a life entirely pastoral, readily declared themselves the nuncio's soldiers, irritated, as they were, against the council of Kilkenny, who, on account of their irregularities in Leinster, had commanded an armed opposition against them. This leader having assembled about five thousand infantry and five hundred horse, at the end of May, and having advanced toward Armagh, was followed by Monroe, who apprehended an attack on some of the British garrisons, at the head of six thousand eight hundred men, of whom eight hundred were cavalry.

Monroe, arriving by a forced march at Armagh about midnight, with a hope of surprizing his enemy, was informed that the Irish general was posted at Benburb, seven miles distant, between two hills, with a wood behind, and the river Blackwater on his right. He marched at day break, in view of O'Neal, on the opposite side of the river, to meet a reinforcement which he expected; and finding a ford, he crossed the stream, and advanced toward the Irish. The veteran general of the latter contrived to amuse the enemy with skirmishes, until the sun, which had been favourable to the position of the Scots in the morning

Battle of
Benburb.
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morning, shone full in their faces with declining rays. At this time a detachment of the Irish, which had been sent to intercept Monroe's expected succour, and had been foiled, was returning to the main body, and was at first mistaken by the Scottish general for that body of his own troops which he had ordered to join him. Alarmed at the reinforcement of the hostile army, when he perceived his error, he prepared to retreat; and the Irish leader, who had waited for the favourable moment, ordered instantly an attack. The Scottish cavalry, broken by a furious and sudden onset, was driven on the infantry, and the whole put to rout, with the slaughter of above three thousand, and the loss of the artillery, most of the tents, baggage, and provisions; while only seventy were slain on the side of the Irish. The victory would not have been so easily gained, if the rest of Monroe's army had behaved like an English regiment commanded by lord Blaney, who maintained their post until almost all, with their commander, fell. O'Neal, pursuing hotly the broken foe, seemed to threaten the reduction of all Ulster, with an augmented army of ten thousand men, when he was called suddenly by the nuncio into Leinster to oppose the peace.

Nuncio's
opposition.
1646.

Confiding in so powerful a support, the adherents of the nuncio opposed the proclamation of peace, which, though performed in Dublin and in Preston's camp, was prevented in Waterford, Clonmel, and Limerick. In the last the mayor and heralds, in attempting to execute the office, were attacked, wounded, some even mortally, and committed to prison

prison for ten days, by a mob, conducted by some clergy, who received for this outrage the nuncio's benediction. This prelate, having displaced by his own authority the magistrates who had favoured the proclamation, and conferred the government of the city on the conductor of the tumult, summoned his clergy to Waterford, where they denounced excommunication against all who had been instrumental in the treaty, and all who should support the execution of orders issued by the council of Kilkenny. Having pronounced other censures of the church, they framed a new oath of association, whereby they engaged not to adhere to any peace, but such as should be honourable, and approved by the congregation of Irish clergy as not contrary to their consciences. The nuncio, as appears by his own memoirs, exceeded his instructions in this violent conduct, and was obliged to apologize to the pope. Also for his having, in a speech to the council of Kilkenny, recommended fidelity first to God and religion, and next to the king, he was reprimanded by cardinal Pamfilio, who gave him to understand that, though he might tacitly permit catholics to make those public protestations of obedience to their king, which for political reasons they were either forced or willing to profess, *the holy see never would by any positive act approve the civil allegiance which catholic subjects pay to a heretical prince*, nor allow her ministers to consent to public edicts for the defense of such a monarch.

Alarmed at the effects produced on the ignorant multitude by the violence of the clergy; at the hostile

Danger of
Ormond.

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tile advance of O'Neal's army ; at the ambiguity of Preston, part of whose troops had been disbanded for want of pay, part had deserted to the clergy ; and at the progress of lord Inchiquin, who, in defiance of the proclamation, was overrunning Munster with his parliamentary forces ; the supreme council earnestly besought the lord lieutenant to repair to Kilkenny to support its authority and the treaty of pacification. At the head of two thousand men, of whom five hundred were cavalry, Ormond, accompanied by the marquis of Clanricarde and lord Digby, was received at Kilkenny with respect and demonstrations of joy ; but he soon found his expedition ineffectual and attended with danger. The earl of Castlehaven, who was dispatched to Waterford to dissuade the nuncio and his clergy from their violence, found them inexorable ; and this prelate had prevailed with Preston to concur with O'Neal in an attempt to intercept the lord lieutenant ; so that these two generals were on their march for that end. Apprised of his danger, Ormond by forced marches, not without difficulty and alarms, regained in safety the capital, where a belief of his destruction had some days been entertained,

Triumph of
the nuncio.
1646.

The fabrick of constitution, formed by the confederate catholics, in a moment fell to pieces, and their power was usurped by a few ecclesiastics. The nuncio, entering Kilkenny with regal pomp, committed to prison the members of the supreme council, with other promoters of the peace ; and by his own authority nominated four bishops and eight laymen, as members of a new council, of which himself was

was president. As a delegate of sovereign power, he modeled the army at his pleasure; deposed and imprisoned lord Muskerry, and in his place created Glamorgan general of Munster. To the latter nobleman, abjectly obsequious to his will, he promised the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, as soon as Ormond should be driven from the capital. Of this event he was so confident that he wrote to Rome for directions concerning the adjustment of the ceremonial between the papal minister and the new chief governor. Between Preston and O'Neal, who advanced with sixteen thousand foot and sixteen hundred cavalry to lay siege to Dublin, a violent jealousy was excited by the nuncio's partiality for the latter, and by the catholic gentry of Leinster, who crowded for protection to the former from the barbarous and indiscriminate ravages of O'Neal's army. In this state lord Digby hoped to gain Preston to the royalists, and even formed a scheme to make the nuncio prisoner by surprize; but the scheme was ineffectual, and Ormond declined a negociation with Preston, whom he despised as not possessed of faith or stability.

In preparing for a siege, the citizens of Dublin had exerted all their power to repair the fortifications; and to animate their zeal, the marchioness of Ormond, and other ladies, had appeared at their head carrying baskets of earth: but the lord lieutenant, fully sensible of his utter inability to sustain a siege from a want of money, ammunition, and provisions, found himself reduced to the dilemma of submitting either to the Irish generals or to the English

Siege of
Dublin.
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English parliament. As he could have no reliance on any treaty with the former, he made overtures to the latter; but could obtain no better terms than that he and the members of the privy council should, with the king's permission, resign their patents, obtaining security for their persons and estates, and indemnification from their public engagements. Commissioners were named by the parliament to treat with Ormond for the surrendry of his garrisons, and in the mean time two thousand three hundred men, of whom three hundred were cavalry, were ordered for the immediate relief of Dublin. To distress the besiegers, the corn, mills, and bridges, for several miles around the city were destroyed before the enemy's arrival. Ormond disdained an answer to the insolent proposals of the Irish generals, though thirty barrels of gunpowder, received from a parliamentarian ship, was his whole stock of ammunition: and when he was refused the use of a vessel for the transportation of his wife and children, unless to some place in the power of the parliament, he resolved that they should remain and share his fortune.

When the besieging armies had taken their stations, they seemed more enclined to mutual quarrel than to combined efforts against the garrison. Dark, sarcastical, and captious, O'Neal affected to dread some insidious design in Preton, who was irritable, open, and indiscreetly violent. The animosities of the generals, communicated to the officers of their respective armies, broke forth on one side in expressions of abhorrence of the northerns, as barbarians; on the other, of contempt and hatred of the Leinstrians,

ans, as the posterity of Englishmen, and in threats of the total extirpation of all such, when the dominion of Ireland should revert to its only rightful possessors, the aboriginal Irish. From this hereditary prejudice, which had in like manner been displayed in the wars of Elizabeth by the followers of Hugh O'Neal, the two armies appeared ready for mutual slaughter; and the nuncio, who depended on the attachment of the northern general, was with difficulty prevented from the commitment of Preston to prison. Lord Digby again attempted to take advantage of these dissensions for the accomplishment of an accommodation. Clanricarde, at his instigation, repaired to the confederates with proposals, which were opposed by the nuncio, and supported strenuously by the wiser catholics. In the midst of their debates intelligence arrived that the forces of the parliament were landed at Dublin. They started from council: O'Neal called his men from their posts, and decamped in the night: the supreme council hastened to Kilkenny, and were followed by the nuncio; while Preston and his officers continued their negotiation with Clanricarde.

The troops of the parliament were allowed to take their quarters peaceably in the suburbs, while the commissioners treated with Ormond for the resignation of his government. He objected to the want of precision in their terms, and proposed that their soldiers should be distributed into garrisons, until the king's pleasure should be notified, and their instructions enlarged from the parliament; and that they should supply him at present with three thousand pounds

Negociations.

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pounds for the maintenance of his men. Dissatisfied with these conditions, the commissioners reembarked their troops, who sailed thence to Ulster, where they were, not without difficulty, received by the Scots. On their departure Ormond stated his objections to the articles required by Clanricarde and Digby in the treaty with Preston, which principally were, that he should promise to obey all orders in favour of the catholics received from the queen or prince of Wales, or such as should be certified by lord Digby, the king's secretary, to be his Majesty's free will and pleasure; and that he should not only employ Preston and his officers, and grant them commissions under the marquis of Clanricarde, who was to take the chief command of the catholic forces, but also should admit these forces into the king's garrisons, particularly some of Preston's regiments into Dublin. Wearied with importunity, Ormond at length consented, with some reservation, and wrote to Preston and Clanricarde for that purpose, the latter of whom received his commission to command the army of Leinster; and the former, as lieutenant general, having consulted with the lord lieutenant on the plan of operations, began his march for the seizure of Waterford and Kilkenny, while Ormond was preparing to follow, and join him with his forces.

When, to form this junction, the chief governor was on his march, accompanied by Clanricarde, a letter was presented from Preston to the latter, informing him of his having quite relinquished his engagements, and advising that the lord lieutenant should

should proceed no farther, but should await the issue of a general assembly at Kilkenny. Preston, justly styled a contemptible bigot by the classic historian of Ireland, had been accosted on his march, and terrified into complete submission, by some agents of the nuncio, who denounced excommunication on him and all his followers, unless he should immediately stop, and disperse his army. In three days after his letter, he published a formal renunciation of his treaty with Clanricarde, on pretence of non-performance of articles on the part of government. Howsoever great was the surprize and mortification of Clanricarde, Ormond had placed no confidence on Preston's engagements, nor could he have any favourable expectations from a new general assembly; yet, to leave no excuse to the catholics; he awaited the result, while he led his troops into Westmeath to seek subsistence. The influence of the clergy was so powerful at Kilkenny that the resolutions of the assembly amounted to the complete establishment of the Roman religion, and the exemption of its ecclesiastics from subjection to the crown. In contradiction to the sense of the French government, signified by its minister, and a spirited remonstrance from Ormond, the assembly declared the treaty of peace to be void; yet could not be persuaded by the nuncio to pass a censure on the commissioners by whom it had been transacted; but pronounced, with a strange inconsistency, that these had acted honestly in agreeing to a peace, and the clergy also honestly in the violation of it.

Ormond

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1647.

Treaty
with the
parliament.
1647.

Ormond and other protestant royalists now saw the necessity, without alternative, of submission to the English parliament, how much soever they hated that party ; and, with the concurrence of the privy council, and an Irish parliament convoked in Dublin, a resolution was taken to deposit the rights of the crown with the power then ruling in England. To prevent the execution of this design, the confederates made new proposals, of which, being inadmissible, Ormond made no other use than to gain time to conclude his treaty with the parliamentarians. In the mean time arrived from the queen, Leyburne, one of her chaplains, under the fictitious name of Winter Grant, with directions to forward by every possible means an accommodation ; but the demands of the confederates, influenced by the nuncio's junto, were the same in substance as before, and Ormond signed his treaty with the parliament on the twenty-ninth of June 1647. His second son, lord Richard Butler, who became afterwards earl of Arran, was sent to England as a hostage, together with the earl of Roscommon, Colonel Chichester, and Sir James Ware, by Ormond, who engaged to deliver the king's garrisons, with all their appurtenances, to the commissioners of parliament, on the twenty-eighth of the succeeding month, or sooner, if they required, on four days notice. The commissioners promised, among other conditions, security, during good behaviour, to recusants not guilty of rebellion ; liberty to depart for all who might choose to accompany the marquis out of Ireland ;

protection

protection to himself in England on condition of his obedience to the orders of parliament ; and the reimbursement of near fourteen thousand pounds expended from his own fortune in the service of the king.

The more moderate of the confederates, and even Preston, alarmed at the dismal prospect, when the parliamentarians should have gained the ascendancy, besought Ormond to remain in Ireland ; but their application was too late, and no reliance could safely be reposed in their engagements. The bigotry of the confederates, who would no where within their jurisdiction permit the smallest degree of toleration to protestants, was now to be encountered by the bigotry of the puritans, who, as soon as they were masters of Dublin, permitted no other form of worship than their own within the walls ; but hindered not however the protestants of the established church to enjoy the liturgy in the suburbs, in the chapel of the college. Leave to transport five thousand men from Ireland for the service of France was denied to Ormond, though these were enemies of the parliamentarians, whose exile might be supposed desirable to the latter. The country was miserably wasted, and its inhabitants distracted by the clashing pretensions of different leaders. The barbarous troops of O'Neal, hostile alike to the king and parliament, were devoted to the nuncio. Lord Muskerry, the enemy of these partizans, escaped, when his destruction was meditated, to the catholic forces of Munster, who chose him for their general, and deposed Glamorgan. These troops and those of Preston seemed sensible of their country's danger, and wished the return of Ormond. The Scots of Ulster, offended

State of
the coun-
try.

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Battle of
Dungan-
hill.
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at some late proceedings of the ruling power in England, were disaffected to the parliamentarians, though inveterately inimical to the Irish. In this state of things the troops of Dublin and Munster, in the service of the parliament, augmented the consternation of the confederates by bloody operations of arms.

Colonel Michael Jones, governor of Dublin, marching to oppose Preston, who, at the head of seven thousand foot and one thousand cavalry, had reduced Naas and some other posts, was foiled in two skirmishes. Preston, having laid siege to Trim, endeavoured, when Jones had marched to its relief, to surprize Dublin in the absence of the governor with most of the garrison; and made a rapid march for that purpose: but his antagonist pursued with ardour, and overtook him at a place called Dunganhill. The troops of Jones, augmented by reinforcements from Ulster to a number nearly equal to those of the enemy, and actuated by a desperate spirit of revenge from reports of Irish massacres, rushed on the foe with a frantic impetuosity, regardless of ranks or orders, and intent on slaughter only. This conduct, which against a well-disciplined and well-commanded army, might have been fatal, was here attended with decisive success. Preston, whose troops were broken with frightful carnage, fled precipitately with his cavalry, and stopped at Carlow to await the arrival of the shattered remnants of his infantry; while Jones, unable to pursue, from want of provisions, returned to Dublin with the artillery, arms, and baggage of the vanquished troops, and a number of prisoners, of whom some were men of distinguished rank and consequence. The nuncio's
party,

party, who apprehended the recall of Ormond, in case of Preston's success, rejoiced at his defeat, and caused O'Neal to be immediately summoned from Connaught to the defense of Leinster. To O'Neal was Preston, by order of the supreme council, obliged to resign most of his remaining forces; and this northern general, deriding the conduct of his predecessor, eluded every attempt of Jones to bring him to a battle, while he extended his depredations even to the walls of the capital.

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Inchiquin's
progress.

Lord Taaffe, having taken the command of the catholic army in Munster, resigned to him by Muskerry, whose presence was judged necessary in the supreme council, seemed resolved to pursue the same cautious plan of conduct in the avoiding of a battle with Inchiquin. The last named commander, obliged to act with vigour, both for the procuring of subsistence for his troops, and the allaying of suspicions of his fidelity to the English parliament, overran several tracts of country, and invested the castle of Cahir, strongly fortified, and of difficult access, environed by two branches of the river Suir. The conquest of this fortress, which surrendered in a few hours, after a feeble defense, when some of its outworks had been gained, laid open the fertile plains of Tipperary to his famished soldiery. On his approach to the city of Cashel, the inhabitants took refuge in their cathedral, seated on a rock, strong in its fortifications and garrison. Having proposed to leave them unmolested on condition of their payment of three thousand pounds and a month's wages for his troops, and having received a refusal, he took the place by storm with great slaughter of soldiers

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Battle of
Knocknon-
ness,
1647.

and citizens. Finding himself not sufficiently provided for a continuance of the campaign, notwithstanding a vast booty, he retired, and dispersed his troops in garrisons for winter quarters.

Taafe, whose object was a defensive plan, would have willingly allowed him to remain inactive; but the fall of twenty churchmen, slain in the indiscriminate slaughter at Cashel, roused the indignation of the nuncio and his clergy, who imputed the successes of the heretical troops to the treachery of the lords Muskerry and Taafe. The latter was obliged by the violence and popularity of their clamours to take the field in November; and Inchiquin, on intelligence of these motions, drew his men from their garrisons to oppose him. The two armies encountered each other at Knocknoness. The left wing of the Irish, commanded by Taafe in person, was broken at the first charge; nor could his utmost exertions avail to stop the flight, though he killed several of the fugitives with his own hand. In their right wing was posted a body of Scottish Highlanders, supported by two regiments of cavalry, and commanded by Macdonnel, an officer famous in the wars of Ireland under the Surname of *Kolkitto*, or the left-handed. The Highlanders, in their peculiar mode of combat, throwing their muskets to the ground, as soon as they had discharged them, and rushing like a tempest on the foe with their broad swords and shields, drove them in confusion with slaughter from the field of battle, and seized their artillery and baggage. But Inchiquin, having dissipated the left wing of the Irish, wheeled and attacked the hitherto victorious right, routed their cavalry, and surrounded

the Highlanders, who by the fall of Kolkitto were left without a leader. Yet they obstinately maintained their ground till, after the slaughter of seven hundred of their number, the remnant accepted quarter. The catholic army of Munster lost in this defeat above three thousand slain, the prime of its men, six thousand small arms, all its artillery and baggage, thirty-eight standards, and the general's tent and cabinet.

In the dangerous condition to which the confederates were reduced by the destruction of two armies, when the forces of the English parliament seemed only prevented by the inclemency of winter from rushing upon them with irresistible violence, lord Muskerry prevailed on them to make a new attempt for a treaty with the king. This lord and his associates were so successful, notwithstanding all the schemes of counteraction contrived by the nuncio, that a new general assembly, summoned to Kilkenny, almost unanimously declared for the sending of agents into France to the queen and prince of Wales. The nuncio's opposition had so far an effect, that deputations were ordered to Rome and Spain to implore assistance, and that the agents appointed to negotiate with the queen and prince were directed to await in France the answer from the pope. Muskerry and Geoffry Browne, deputed to France in conjunction with the marquis of Antrim, privately resolved to neglect the instruction, which by the nuncio's dictation they publicly received; instructions intended merely to frustrate the negotiation, and to forward a plan, avowed by the clergy and old Irish, for the withdrawing

Negotiations renewed.

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with lawing of Ireland entirely from the crown of England. For this purpose was a book at this time circulated, written by an Irish jesuit, who stated in his treatise that, if the English monarchs had ever any right (and even that he denied) to the dominion of Ireland, that right was forfeited by their heresy ; that the Irish might justly put to death all protestants, and also all catholics who supported the crown ; and that they ought to choose a native catholic for their independent king. This treatise, in spite of all the nuncio's efforts in its favour, was condemned by the supreme council to be burned at Kilkenny by the common hangman.

On their arrival in France, Muskerry and Browne produced to the queen in a private audience, secret instructions signed by Preston and lord Taafe, assuring her Majesty of the stedfast loyalty of their party in defiance of those who were labouring to introduce a foreign jurisdiction, and proposing that the prince should come to Ireland to put himself at the head of his well-affected subjects. When, accompanied by Antrim, who was not entrusted with their secrets, they had, in a public audience, presented the proposals dictated by the clergy, merely for the sake of appearance, they received a general and gracious answer from the queen and prince, in which they were informed that a person should be speedily sent into Ireland, empowered to grant the confederates every grace consistent with justice and the honour and interest of the king. When Muskerry and Browne were, much to their satisfaction, privately assured

assured that the person intended was Ormond, the agents returned to Ireland.

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The way seemed to be in preparation for the arrival of the marquis by other events. Inchiquin, who had formerly, from unmerited ill treatment by the court, revolted from the royalists, was now, from a like behaviour of the parliament, enclined to revolt to the royal party, and was maintaining for this purpose a correspondence with Ormond, though he continued his operations against the confederate catholics, and threatened to besiege Kilkenny. While the Scots of Ulster assured Ormond of their readiness to join his party, and an armistice was in a train of negotiation between the confederates and Inchiquin, the latter nobleman was forced into a premature avowal of his defection by some English officers, who, suspecting his intention, formed a plot to defeat it by the seizure of Cork and Youghal. Their plot was prevented, and their persons emprisoned; but the defection of Inchiquin became thus known to the nuncio, who, intent on the project of Ireland's subjection to the pope's temporal dominion, opposed the armistice with all his power. When the influence of Taafe, Clanricarde, and Preston, prevailed against him, he caused the protestation of the clergy against the armistice to be affixed to the doors of the cathedral in Kilkenny; and when this was torn from the doors, he thundered excommunication against all those who favoured the armistice, and denounced an interdict against all places in which it should be maintained. The thunders of the church had been so often and so frivolously lanced by this prelate, that

Defection
of Inchi-
quin.
1648.

The nun-
cio's oppo-
sition.
1648.

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that they were become too familiar to inspire the same degree of terror as formerly. The supreme council ventured to make a formal appeal against his censures to the pope, in which they were supported by two archbishops, twelve bishops, all the secular clergy of their dioceses, all the jesuits and carmelites, many of the augustinians and dominicans, and above five hundred Franciscans, the most exemplary and intelligent of those legions of churchmen who swarmed at that time through the impoverished island.

War among the
catholics.
1643.

All the opposers of the peace and of English government crowded to the standard of O'Neal, who, though sworn to obey the orders of the confederates, acted as if absolved by the nuncio, and solemnly declared war against the supreme council. This general, having contrived to make a truce with the Scots of Ulster, marched to relieve Athlone, where some partizans of the nuncio were sustaining a siege; but the place was surrendered, before his arrival, to Clanricarde and Preston. Having succeeded, on account of his hostility to the royalists, in his overtures for an accommodation with Michael Jones, the parliamentary general, he proceeded to the attempt of a bold and important enterprize, the seizure of Kilkenny and the supreme council. But his troops, unsupplied with money, and disorderly by depredation, were not quick enough in their march; so that Inchiquin, with the protestant forces of Munster, had arrived at Kilkenny before him to protect the council. While he craftily proposed a truce for Munster to Inchiquin, who, with his own and part of Preston's troops, was advancing upon him, this nobleman

nobleman attempted, without a reply, to force him to a battle: but the wary veteran eluded all his efforts, and after several skirmishes with a variety of success, returned disappointed to Ulster. He was joined by the marquis of Antrim, who had revolted from the royalists, enraged by the disappointment of the hopes which he had entertained of being appointed lord lieutenant. The marquis had led into Ireland a body of Scottish Highlanders, augmented his force with Irish troops at Wexford, and caused an alarm by a formidable appearance, when he was suddenly defeated, with the destruction of his brave Highlanders, by an army of confederates. Making boastful promises to Jones of important services by his influence in Ulster, that general promised him support, and O'Neal agreed to place himself and his army under his command: but the latter, soon discovering this nobleman's insignificance, resumed his former place as chief general of the northern Irish.

The nuncio, who, on the surrendry of Athlone, had fled thence to Galway, endeavoured here to collect a synod of his ecclesiastical partizans to confirm his censures: but Clanricarde, investing the city, prevented the assembly, and obliged the citizens to pay a contribution, and to renounce all connexion with the nuncio. While this prelate permitted O'Neal, his general, to treat with the puritans of Dublin, the mortal enemies of the catholics, he fulminated his comminations against the armistice and treaties with heretics. The general assembly, having ratified the armistice, proclaimed O'Neal a traitor, and

The nuncio's proceedinge.

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and renewed the appeal to Rome, they were further exasperated by an outrage of this prelate, who seized their messenger sent to the pope, and robbed him of his papers. All catholics; particularly his adherents of Galway, were interdicted, under the severest penalties, from correspondence with him; and, in a letter signed by the prolocutor of the assembly, he was admonished to depart the kingdom, and to prepare for his defense, before the sovereign pontiff, against the articles of their accusation.

Ormond's
return,
1648.

In such a situation of affairs Ormond arrived at Cork, and was received by Inchiquin with the respect properly payable to the king's lord lieutenant. The marquis had retired to England, on his resignation of the royal fortresses to the parliament, and thence, after some time, fled to France, from apprehensions of danger, with his eldest son, lord Offory, where he assisted the queen of England with his advice in her negotiation with the Irish deputies. As he had been disappointed of supplies in France, he endeavoured, on his arrival in Ireland, to conciliate the protestant army of Munster by promises. The king, though a prisoner, found means to send him private instructions, contradictory to his public declarations; on the authority of which, together with the powers granted by the queen and prince, he proceeded to treat with the general assembly at Kilkenny, for the purpose of uniting in a common cause the protestant and catholic royalists. Having conferred some time with their commissioners at his house at Carrick, fourteen miles from Kilkenny,

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Kilkenny, he was persuaded, for the readier dispatch of business, to remove to his castle at the latter. He was received at Kilkenny with the most pompous respect, and attended by his own guards ; but his negotiation was for some time interrupted by a mutiny in the army of Inchiquin. To make their peace in time with the ruling power of England seemed a wise measure to several officers, who accordingly sent proposals to the English parliament, and might soon have prevailed on troops discontented from want of pay, to attempt to force their passage to Jones in Dublin or O'Neal in Ulster. The personal exertions of Ormond and Inchiquin were powerfully seconded by a message, in the critical time, from the prince of Wales, that prince Rupert, the king's nephew, was soon to arrive with that part of the English navy which had revolted to the royalists, with ammunition and provisions for the army in Munster ; and that the prince of Wales himself was shortly to appear among them. By the imprisoning of some officers, and the displacing of others, this army was so modeled, as to ensure its future attachment to the royal cause.

A mutiny.

The negotiation of Ormond, on his return to Kilkenny, was facilitated by intelligence from abroad. The deputies, who had been sent to Rome, returned with plenty of relicks and benedictions, but destitute of supplies, and without advice from the pope, who left the confederates to their own judgment with respect to the conditions which they should ask in matters of religion.

Conclus-
ion of Or-
mond's
treaty.
1648.

gion. The news of a remonstrance, presented to the English parliament by its own army, demanding the king's death, on account of his people's blood spilled in the civil war, made a forcible impression on both protestant royalists and confederates. Peace was concluded on the same conditions nearly in civil affairs as in the treaty of 1646: in ecclesiastical more favourable terms were given to the catholics, who, with a repeal of all penal statutes, were secured in the full and free exercise of their religion. With respect to an actual establishment the terms were not precise, but reserved for the free and authentic declaration of the monarch's pleasure. A degrading circumstance to the marquis, and obstructive of his future operations, was the stipulated article of twelve *commissioners of trust*, nominated by the general assembly, who were to take care that the treaty should be duly executed, until its ratification in a full and peaceable parliament; and were to participate in the lord lieutenant's authority, so far that, without the approbation of the majority of them, he could neither levy money nor men, nor place garrisons for defense. To reconcile the protestants to this treaty, he published a declaration, in which, among other matters, he stated that he had made no accommodation with those who had any share in the barbarities committed in the beginning of the rebellion; and that he had not condescended to any articles until the army in England had proclaimed their nefarious design against their sovereign's life.

Whatever

Whatever hopes might have been conceived in favour of the royal cause from this tedious negotiation, its conclusion was far too late for the personal service of the king, since that unfortunate prince had received the mortal stroke before the news of the convention arrived at London.

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C H A P.

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English affairs—Ormond's proceedings—Rupert's conduct—Siege of Dublin—Battle of Rathmines—Operations elsewhere—Siege of Derry—Arrival of Cromwell—Storm of Drogheda—Progress of Cromwell's arms—Ormond's proceedings—Taking of Wexford—Progress of Cromwell—Operations of Ormond—Opposition to Ormond—Revolt of Inchiquin's troops—Siege of Kilkenny—Siege of Clonmel—Departure of Cromwell—Progress of Ireton—Successes of Hewson—Reduction of Waterford, Duncannon, &c.—Victories of Coote in Ulster—Danger of the western counties.

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XXVI.
English
Affairs.

FROM the moment that the parliamentarians were undisputed masters of England, they found themselves divided, according to the natural course of human affairs, into two parties, the presbyterians and independents. As the presbyterians, in aiming at a purer system of religion than that of the established church, had rejected prelates, liturgies, and ceremonies; so the independents, affecting a still more exalted purity, admitted no creeds, systems, forms, nor other qualification of a minister of the Gospel than the voluntary election of him to that office by a congregation voluntarily associated; and, contrary

contrary to the practice of all other christian sects at that time, they adopted the reasonable doctrine of toleration, not from reason, which must seem extraordinary, but from the very extravagance of irregular fanaticism, naturally considering those variations, in which they indulged themselves, permissible to others. Yet they were hostile to popery and prelacy, which they regarded as of a spirit tending to superstition. Their plan of civil government was a completely democratic republic, admitting no privileges of birthright, or superiority of rank. The leaders of the independents, particularly Oliver Cromwell, had contrived by a deep scheme of dissimulation, before the king's decisive overthrow, to model the army, in the forming of new companies and regiments of the same men, with new officers, in such manner as to put the whole military force into the hands of their own party.

On the completion of their victory by the captivity of their monarch, the parliament, composed chiefly of presbyterians, resolved to prevent the dangerous designs of the military leaders by disbanding a part of the army, and sending another part to Ireland. But these leaders, supported by their troops, resisted the orders, and, seizing the king, whom they treated with apparent respect, advanced to London, and by a new model of the parliament reduced that body to submission. Cromwell, the mainspring of the army's operations, contrived to cause the king, by raising apprehensions of designs against his life, to withdraw secretly to the ile of Wight. Discontents were so great
and

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and general at the usurpation of the government by a junto of officers, that a confederacy was formed by great numbers in England with the Scots for the monarch's restoration; and the parliament, recovering its liberty by the absence of the army from London, in this new civil war, sent commissioners to treat with the captive prince at Newport in Wight. But while this treaty was in discussion, the army of the independents, having vanquished every where their opponents, bent their march to the capital, sent a remonstrance to the parliament demanding the king's death; and, again taking possession of London, excluded by force from the legislative assembly all who were not of their own party. The unfortunate monarch, having been carried from Wight to Hurst castle by command of the ruling faction, was brought to trial, on the charge of a newly invented species of treason, the levying of war on his people, before what was styled a high court of justice, and was beheaded amid the lamentations of the greater part of his subjects, on the thirtieth of January 1649; an event of momentous instruction to kings and nations; to the former, to use their power with caution and a regard to justice; to the latter, to bear the evils of an established government, rather than to incur the still greater of revolution and the tyranny of a usurping faction.

Ormond's
proceed-
ings.
1649.

So great and general was the indignation in Ireland at the king's murder, that the nuncio left the kingdom, despairing of being able to prevent the union of the confederate catholics with the protestant royalists under the lord lieutenant; but he continued

some

Some time, by letters from France, to enflame the Irish clergy for that purpose. Ormond, having visited prince Rupert, who had arrived at Kinsale with the revolted squadron so long expected, received in his return at Youghal the melancholy news of the deed committed by the military junta, and immediately proclaimed the prince of Wales king under the name of Charles the second. Endeavouring to combine a force for the support of his new sovereign, he made overtures to the commanders of the several armies, who with different views, religions, and passions, were stationed in different parts of the country. Owen O'Neal, though he adhered to the nuncio's party, consented to negotiate; but an accommodation was prevented by the commissioners of trust, who dreaded this leader. Michael Jones was inflexibly attached to the power which then ruled the English nation; and Sir Charles Coote, who, with parliamentary troops, occupied the post of Derry, returned no satisfactory answers. The British forces of Ulster, abhorring both the king's murderers and the confederate Irish, after some hesitation, declared for the royalists, and blockaded Coote. The confederate catholics had engaged to furnish the lord lieutenant with fifteen thousand foot and two thousand five hundred cavalry; but maintenance could not be procured for such a number. Of sixty thousand pounds applotted for this purpose, no part had been collected, when he was required by circumstances to enter upon action. In his applications to the cities and corporate towns, which, like so many petty republics, granted or

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denied contributions, according to their pleasure, without regard to the orders of the general assembly, he obtained from Waterford seven thousand pounds by a mortgage of the royal rents and customs; a promise of five thousand from Limerick, and as much from Galway; but the securities were with reluctance accepted, and the money paid slowly.

Conduct of
Rupert.

Actuated by some sinister motives, prince Rupert, commander of the revolted squadron, not only declined to afford assistance to Ormond, but also by secret practices embarrassed and obstructed his plans of operation. He detained the money which he had been commanded to furnish: he refused to blockade the port of Dublin or of Derry: he corresponded with Antrim, O'Neal, and other anti-royalist Irish: by promising encouragement to all who were willing to serve the king "in an opposite way to the present government," he excited a turbulent spirit in Connaught, repressed with difficulty by Clanricarde: he formed schemes for the raising of troops in the south, which, when discovered by Ormond, he was ashamed to avow: and, having obtained a thousand catholics for the manning of his fleet, he shewed such partiality in their favour, that they were encouraged to insult the protestants in the sea ports, and to raise such commotions as could scarcely be allayed by all the prudent exertions of Inchiquin.

Proceed-
ings of
Jones

This conduct of Rupert was of signal service to Michael Jones, governor of Dublin, who, from the dread of disaffection in his garrison, had, some time before, imprisoned and sent to England some of his officers, was still, on good grounds, apprehensive

hensive of the same spirit among his troops, and would have been unable to maintain his post without supplies of provisions and reinforcements by sea. To O'Neal, who professed a willingness to form a permanent accommodation with the ruling power of England, Jones promised money and ammunition. An armistice had some time subsisted between this Irish general and George Monk, who, having been appointed to command the parliamentarians in Ulster, had seized Carrickfergus by surprize from the Scots, sent their general Monroe a prisoner to England, and reduced the towns of Belfast and Colerain. The intrigues of Jones extended even to Preston's army, where a plot, formed by some officers, was frustrated either by timely discovery, or want of resolution to commit the crime.

Ormond, having vainly solicited the young king to come to Ireland, mustered what troops he was able, with design to besiege the capital, and, advancing from Carlow, reduced Kildare and some other posts; but found himself unable, from the want of supplies, to avail himself of a favourable opportunity of attacking Jones, who had marched to some distance from the city. Furnished with some money by the industry of Castlehaven and Taafe, and reinforced by two thousand infantry of Inchiquin, he proceeded to Castleknock, within cannon shot of Dublin; but, disappointed in his expectation of a commotion in his favour by the disaffected within the walls, he encamped at Finglass two miles from the town. Finding that most of the cavalry of Jones were detached to Drogheda, from which post they

Siege of
Dublin.
1649.

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might intercept the provisions of the besiegers, the lord lieutenant dispatched Inchiquin with the royal cavalry to pursue them. This nobleman surprized and routed the hostile troops ; took the city of Drogheda ; defeated, with the slaughter of their foot, a body of parliamentary troops conveying ammunition to O'Neal ; invested Dundalk, where Monk, the commander, was obliged by his own garrison to capitulate ; and thence, after the reduction of some smaller posts, returned in triumph to Finglafs.

With eleven thousand men, of whom four thousand were cavalry, Ormond resolved to invest the city on all sides at once ; and leaving lord Dillon of Costello with two thousand five hundred on the northern quarter, he crossed the Liffey with the rest of the troops, and encamped at Rathmines, designing to extend his works eastward to the river's mouth, and thereby to command the entrance of the port. His hopes of success were severely damped by the arrival of a fleet from England, which brought a reinforcement to the garrison of two thousand infantry and six hundred horse, under Reynolds, Hunks, and Venables, with money and other necessaries, and also news of an intended expedition of Cromwell to the south of Ireland with a formidable army. To strengthen the southern garrisons, and to confirm their loyalty, Inchiquin was detached with three regiments of cavalry ; yet to continue the blockade of Dublin, with even diminished numbers against an augmented garrison, was judged necessary, as the dereliction of the enterprize might be attended with dangerous

dangerous discouragement to the royal party. But from a change of circumstances the council of war judged a change of position necessary, that the enemy should be dislodged from Rathfarnham, and that the marquis should remove from Rathmines to a securer station at a place called Drumnagh, where he might maintain an uninterrupted communication with Dillon on the north side of the river. To this motion, which might have the appearance of a retreat, some officers objected, and proposed another plan of which the council approved, and to which Ormond was unwilling from his own authority to object. This was to starve the enemy's horses by the seizure and fortification of the adjoining castle of Baggatrath, which would exclude them from their only pastures, some meadows on the south side of the Liffey; and thence to advance the works to the river for the stoppage of the port.

Fifteen hundred infantry, under an officer named Purcell, detached at the close of day to seize the Castle, spent the night in a circuitous march to their place of destination, though distant only a mile, misled by the treachery of their guides; and the merit of betraying the royal army on this occasion was afterwards claimed by a churchman, named Reily, who had managed a private correspondence between Jones and O'Neal. Having passed the night in preparations to support this enterprize with the main body of his troops, Ormond was surprized in the morning at the small advancement of Purcell's works; and finding, from the position of the enemy's parties

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parties between him and the strand, that an engagement must be hazarded, either for the maintenance of the new post, or the covering of Purcell's retreat, he chose the former; and, having given the necessary orders, retired to take meantime a short repose in his tent. He was quickly roused hence by repeated volleys, and found all in confusion by a sudden and vigorous attack of the enemy; Purcell driven from his works; Sir William Vaughan slain; his cavalry flying, and his whole right wing irretrievably broken. A sudden panic seized the rest of the army: the left wing fled without firing; and the troops on the north side of the river, instead of attempting, with probability of success, to snatch the victory from a foe in confusion, retired with precipitation to Trim and Drogheda. Eighteen hundred prisoners, of whom three hundred were officers, remained with the victors, and six hundred were slain, some, to the disgrace of the garrison, after they had accepted quarter. The marquis, having retired to Kilkenny, with some shattered remains of his army, applied by letter for a list of his prisoners to Jones, who, from the affected unpoliteness of a republican, or an insolence of success incompatible with a generous mind, answered thus, "My lord, since I routed your army I cannot have the happiness to know where you are, that I may wait upon you."

MICHAEL JONES."

Operati-
on else-
where.
1649.

Sensible that his misfortune had arisen from the limitation of his command, and the weakness of an army unprovided, undisciplined, and composed of discordant

discordant parts, and containing many persons disaffected or indifferent to the cause, Ormond conceived still some hopes of success from the probability of more compliance and exertion among the catholics from a sense of their own danger. In confirmation of this hope he received overtures of alliance from Owen O'Neal, who was offended and alarmed at the formal condemnation of his treaties with Monk and Coote by the ruling power of England. Yet this general had performed an important service for that power, when Ormond was besieging Dublin. Lord Montgomery of Ardes, with the British royalists in Ulster, had blockaded Coote in Derry; and Sir George Monroe, bearing the royal commission as commander in that quarter, having, in conjunction with Clanricarde, reduced the parliamentary garrisons in the west, had marched to the support of Montgomery. But O'Neal, in consideration of a large sum of money engaged to him by Coote, advanced to his relief, when he had been reduced to extreme distress; and Montgomery, with an army, weakened by the desertion of numbers, who feared the unconditional restoration of monarchy, was obliged to raise the siege, not daring to await the approach of O'Neal. Elevated with the hopes of this general's accession with six thousand foot and five hundred horse, Ormond meditated a second attempt on Dublin; and was encouraged by the success of an expedition which he made in a week after his defeat at Rathmines, when, advancing with only three hundred horse to Drogheda,

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eda, he caused such alarm to Jones, who had invested the town, that this so lately victorious commander retreated precipitately to Dublin. But the lord lieutenant was quickly obliged to change his plan to defensive operations, by an event which brought vengeance on the catholics of Ireland, a chastisement severe for their bigotry and pride, which had prevented them from a timely and cordial union with the protestant royalists, and from thereby expelling all the adherents of the English parliament from their country.

Arrival of
Cromwell.
1649.

This parliament had been prevented from effectual interference in the wars of Ireland by their contest with their sovereign, which engaged their whole attention and resources, and, after their triumph over their unhappy monarch, by the jealousies between the presbyterians and independents, the factions of the army, and the insurrections in England concerted with the Scots. But when, on the death of the king, no farther opposition in England remained against the independents, who modelled the political system into a commonwealth, governed by a parliament composed of their own party, the reduction of Ireland became an object, where the movements of Ormond bore a menacing aspect; and to Oliver Cromwell was unanimously voted the conduct of the expedition. This extraordinary man, who had not entered into the military profession before the age of forty-three, had yet soon become, by the force of his genius alone, an excellent officer, though never perhaps a consummate general. By his attention to his

his men, the troops under his immediate orders became the most formidable of all in the English civil wars, and he rose rapidly from low commands to really the first, apparently the second, power in the army of the parliament. Equally qualified, as the philosophic Hume observes, to gain the affection and confidence of men by what was mean, vulgar, and ridiculous in his character, as to command their obedience by what was great, daring, and enterprising, he acquired the supreme direction of English affairs, which he managed by intrigues and influence.

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Cromwell, having changed his place of destination from a change of circumstances, steered, instead of Munster, to Dublin, where he arrived on the fifteenth of August 1649, with eight thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, a formidable artillery, and other necessaries. Having proclaimed indemnity and protection to all who should submit to the English parliament, and having appointed a new governor of Dublin, Sir Theophilus Jones, he marched to the attack of Drogheda with ten thousand men. Ormond had taken the utmost pains to strengthen and furnish this place for a vigorous and long defense; had placed in it a garrison of two thousand three hundred chosen men, officers of the best reputation, and a commander of distinguished bravery, Sir Arthur Aston, a catholic; and hoped that, while time would be gained for the collecting of an Irish army, the force of the enemy would be materially impaired by the hardships of a siege. But
Cromwell,

Storm of
Drogheda.
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Cromwell, actuated by a fierce and steady determination of spirit, and sensible of the advantage of prompt and striking execution, was not to be impeded by any ordinary obstacle. Disdaining the regular approaches and forms of a siege, he thundered furiously for two days against the walls with his great guns, and having effected a breach, issued orders for a general assault. The desperate valour of the assailants was encountered by the desperate valour of the garrison, so that with appalling havoc on both sides the troops of Cromwell were twice repulsed. But this commander, determined on conquest, led his troops in person a third time to the breach, and with an intrepid, steady, and impetuous charge, bearing down all opposition, gained possession of the ground. A scene more tremendous, if possible, ensued: the deliberate carnage of the garrison, officers and privates, and Romish ecclesiastics found in the place, a carnage commanded by Cromwell and reluctantly executed by the soldiery. From this butchery, which was continued for five days, a few escaped in disguise, and about thirty were spared; but these were transported as slaves to Barbadoes. Cromwell is said to have promised quarter to those who should surrender their arms, and to have issued, on the ceasing of resistance, his sanguinary orders; as a retaliation for the cruelties of the catholics, though he very well knew that most of the garrison were English protestants.

Progress
of Crom-
well's arms.

To strike terror into his opponents was the object of Cromwell, and so terrified were the garrisons of Trim and Dundalk, that they fled with precipitation, without

without attention to Ormond's commands, who had ordered them to burn these towns, and demolish their fortifications. A parliamentary force detached under Venables into Ulster, took possession, with little resistance, of Carlingford, Newry, Lisburne, and Belfast; while Sir Charles Coote, to whom Colerain was betrayed, drove Sir George Monroe from the counties of Down and Antrim; so that all submitted in this quarter to the parliament, except the castle of Carrickfergus. Cromwell himself marched southward, through the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, with nine thousand men, well supplied with provisions, as his fleet attended the motions of his army, and the peasants, assured of protection, and paid immediately the full value of their goods, crowded to his camp with provisions. Having reduced without resistance the small fortresses in his way, he arrived before the town of Wexford on the first of October.

• During these operations Ormond hovered at a distance with a small body of troops, destitute of money and provisions for the support of an army, and haughtily admonished by the commissioners of trust, when he issued writs, in their absence, for the levying of these by his own authority, that this was an infringement of their treaty. Reduced to a defensive plan, and embarrassed even in this by the restrictions of his command, and the refusal of some towns to admit garrisons, he again pressed the king, as the only measure for preserving the remains of his power or authority, to take in person the command of his troops in Ireland, where the effect might

Ormond's
proceed-
ings.

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might be prosperous, or at all events his retreat as safe as in Jersey. The fleet of Rupert, freed from a blockade, which it had some time sustained in the harbour of Kinsale from the famous Blake, the parliament's admiral, was destined to convey his majesty to Ireland; and Ormond exerted all his power to supply the squadron with seamen and provisions. But Charles, accepting the proposals of commissioners from Scotland, failed to that kingdom, and vainly attempted with its forces to recover the English crown,

Wexford
taken.
1649.

The marquis, having considerably augmented his army, notwithstanding all his difficulties, at the time of Cromwell's march to Wexford, had by urgent entreaties prevented the citizens from their design of surrendry, and prevailed on them to admit a garison of two thousand men, all catholics, as they obstinately rejected the assistance of heretics. Stafford, commander of the castle, had been suspected of treachery by the marquis; but, as he was a catholic, the commissioners of trust would not consent to his removal; and the post was thus lost without resistance. At the commencement of the fire from the artillery of the besiegers, they were admitted by this man to take possession of the castle. In amazement and terror at the sight of the enemy's colours waving on the battlements, and the artillery of the fortrefs pointed against the town, the citizens tumultuously deputed agents to treat of a surrendry; but the soldiers ran in confusion from the walls without waiting for terms of capitulation; and the enemy, gaining possession, proceeded to slaughter all who had

had been found in arms with the same horrible formality as at Drogheda.

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Ormond, having thrown a garrison into Wexford, had retired to Ross, whither he was followed by Cromwell, to whom the town was immediately surrendered on conditions. The English general had detached from Wexford a body of troops, under his son-in-law, Ireton, to attack Duncannon. The garrison of this fortress made a brave defence, though denied supplies from Waterford, whose citizens dreaded the feverities of Cromwell. Wogan, the governor, with the assistance of lord Castlehaven, made a sally with such success, that Ireton raised the siege in some confusion, and joined the main army at Ross. This army had sustained such loss, by campaigning in a severe season, in a country then unfriendly to English constitutions, that a reinforcement of fifteen hundred had been sent from Dublin. In an attempt to intercept these succours Inchiquin was defeated; and Cromwell, having collected his forces, passed the Barrow on a bridge of boats, a new phenomenon to the wondering Irish, obliging Ormond, who vainly attempted to dispute the passage, to retire to Kilkenny.

Progress
of Crom-
well.

Ormond, having concluded an accommodation with Owen O'Neal, became formidable by the junction of that general's forces, though the general himself was no longer able to appear at their head, afflicted by some distemper which soon after put a period to his life. With the unanimous consent of his army, the marquis marched from Kilkenny to give battle to Cromwell; but the latter, having taken

Ormond's
operations.
1649.

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taken the fort of Knocktopher, five miles from that city, had suddenly altered his course, and crossed the Suir to invest Waterford. The marquis hastened to relieve this place; and the citizens, who had before declined a garrison, now admitted a reinforcement of fifteen hundred northerns under a leader named Ferral, all immaculate catholics, for no heretics would on any account be received. Inchiquin had been detached to recover Carrick-on-Suir, which had been surprized in his march by Cromwell; and Ormond, confident of the success of this expedition, was preparing to march thither, after his having accomplished the reinforcement of Waterford, when he received intelligence that the attempt had miscarried, and that the discomfited troops had retired to Clonmel. Thither also retired the marquis with his few remaining forces in a circuitous and harassing march, through a country which exhibited a gloomy scene of terror, where persons of all descriptions were collecting their miserable effects, and flying in confusion different ways to escape the English army. Informed by the citizens of Waterford, that the neighbouring fort of Passage had been reduced by Cromwell, and that they could no longer make resistance without an instant supply of additional troops and provisions, Ormond marched again to the endangered city, threw into it a second reinforcement, and obliged Cromwell to raise the siege: but when he proposed to fall on the rear of the retreating forces, miserably debilitated by hardships and disease, the citizens, who resumed their insolence when the danger was removed, considered his army

as

as a useless burden, and refused to furnish boats for its transportation across the river, till the opportunity was lost of annoying the foe. To recover the fort of Passage was attempted by Ferral, who was defeated, pursued, and half his men slaughtered, before the troops of Ormond could arrive to their assistance, as leave to pass through the town was denied them. His request that the soldiers should be permitted to lodge in huts under the walls, without inconvenience to the citizens, for a renewal of an attack on Passage, was refused by the men of Waterford, among whom in council was even a proposal made, a proposal indeed rejected, yet without reprehension, to seize the person of the marquis, and to treat his adherents as enemies.

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Such opposition to the measures of Ormond arose chiefly from the practices of numerous ecclesiastics of a vulgar species, whose ignorance or malevolence imputed to the misconduct of rulers the bad fortune of their party, which their own bigotry had caused by nourishing religious hatred in their hearers. To this opposition also contributed the marquis of Antrim, who, still aspiring to the station of chief governor, was indefatigable in his endeavours to render Ormond odious to the people and obnoxious to his sovereign. Antrim had even the baseness to commit a forgery, which was detected and confessed, of an agreement between Jones and Inchiquin, whereby the latter was pretended to have engaged to betray the royalists. From a convention of twenty bishops, spontaneously assembled at Clonmacnoise on the

Practices
against Or-
mond.

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the Shannon, to deliberate on the state of public affairs, a violent protestation was expected against the chief governor. But Heber Mac-Mahon, Romish bishop of Clogher, had, from his intercourse with the marquis, conceived a high opinion of his political talents and zeal for the interests of Ireland. By superior information and abilities he prevailed on the assembly to make a formal declaration, that no security for life, religion, or fortune, could be safely expected from Cromwell ; that all odious distinctions between old Irish, English, and Scottish royalists, ought to be buried in total oblivion ; and that they were resolved to punish all clergy who should be found to encourage such distinctions. Counteracted by the whispers of the factious, this rational declaration had little effect. Those of the clergy, who had more particularly adopted the nuncio's principles, scrupled not to insinuate, that, if their countrymen must accept a heretical administration, they might as well submit to Cromwell as to Ormond ; and some were said even to have uttered public prayers for the success of the former. Refused leave to resign, on his application to the king, till the necessity should become unavoidable, he demanded the reason, from the commissioners of trust, why the people had been permitted to relinquish their duty to their sovereign, and all resolutions of union and defense. The commissioners recommended a deputation of agents from the several counties to Kilkenny, to consult on the means of relief ; an expedient calculated rather to enflame than to allay sedition.

tion. This assembly of agents accordingly clamoured and propagated slanders against the marquis, but were unable to find matter for a remonstrance, either at Kilkenny, or at Ennis, whither they fled for safety, on the approach of Cromwel to the former.

When Cromwell raised the siege of Waterford, his condition would have been miserable, if, with an army oppressed by fatigue and sickness, he had been obliged, in a dreary season, to return for winter quarters to Dublin. This general had, before he left London, taken a step which was now of signal service. Having learned that lord Broghil, a man well acquainted with Irish affairs, had resolved to join the king and accompany him into Ireland, he surprised him by a visit, convinced him that his intrigue was discovered, and his life in danger; but offered him safety, with an honourable command in the service of the commonwealth, and assured him that he should not be obliged to take any disagreeable oaths, nor to fight against any but the Irish. Broghil, having assented, arrived in Ireland at the end of October, raised a troop of horse, and practised secretly with the protestant forces of Munster. Disgusted with their catholic allies, who had so often insulted them on the score of religion, all the chief garrisons of this province at once declared for Cromwel, who thus, in a critical time, having reduced Dungarvan, found commodious quarters for his army.

While the troops of Ormond, refused admittance, for winter quarters, into any of the cities, except

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Kilkenny

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Siege of
Kilkenny.
1650.

Kilkenny and Clonmel, were dispersed into various parts for shelter and subsistence, Cromwel advanced suddenly, in the depth of winter, against Kilkenny, relying on the promises of an officer named Tickle for the obtaining of this post by treachery. Finding that the plot had been discovered, and Tickle executed, he retired, as he had not come provided for a siege. But, strengthened by an important reinforcement, the revolted troops of Munster, enured to Irish climate and warfare, he took the field at the end of February, and again directed his march to Kilkenny. His army, proceeding in two divisions, one under Ireton, formed a junction at Callan, and received at Gowran another reinforcement under colonel Hewson, the new governor of Dublin. A garrison of twelve hundred men, in Kilkenny, had been reduced to four hundred and fifty by a pestilential disorder, which raged in Ireland, particularly here, the consequence of a long and wasteful war: yet Sir Walter Butler, to whom the governor, lord Castlehaven, retiring from the pestilence, had deputed the command, made so vigorous a defense, that the English general, afraid of losing too much time in the reduction of this town, began to think of raising the siege, when the mayor and citizens privately advised him to persevere. After a renewal of assaults and fierce resistance, the garrison, applauded by Cromwel for their bravery, surrendered the city and castle on honourable conditions.

Siege of
Clonmel.
1650.

At Clonmel, his next object of attack, garrisoned by twelve hundred northerns under Hugh O'Neal, Cromwell met so obstinate a resistance, that he lost

two

two thousand men in the first assault, and found the expediency of depending chiefly on a blockade. Lord Roche, with a body of troops, hastening to relieve the garrison, was totally defeated by lord Broghil, who advanced to assist the besiegers. The Romish bishop of Ross, a most active partizan, was taken in this battle, and offered his life on condition of his prevailing on the garrison of a neighbouring fortress to surrender: but the heroic prisoner, when conducted within hearing of the garrison, exhorted them to maintain courageously their post against the enemies of their country and religion, and with undaunted spirit resigned himself to death. O'Neal, after a siege of two months, despairing of relief, when his ammunition and provisions were exhausted, contrived, by a masterly piece of conduct, to withdraw his garrison secretly from Clonmel, and to lead them safely to Waterford, leaving the citizens of the former to treat with the English general, who granted them an honourable capitulation, as his presence was importunately demanded elsewhere.

Summoned to England to lead an army against the Scots, who had received Charles the second as their king, Cromwel deputed Ireton to command the English forces against Ormond and the Irish confederates. By the reduction of Kilkenny and Clonmel few obstacles remained to the progress of the deputy's arms, though the confederates, but without union, regularity of plan, or resolution, might have easily collected forces double to his in number. Immediately after the surrendry of Clonmel, the fortress of Treacrogan, containing stores and artillery, was

Progress
of Ireton.
1650.

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reduced, notwithstanding a vigorous attempt by Castlehaven for its relief. To Hewson a number of fortresses had yielded, particularly those of Naas, Athy, Maryborough, and Castledermot. Carlow was quickly reduced, Preston surrendered Waterford, and Duncannon followed in the train of submission. Ireton, not yet prepared for so arduous an enterprize as the siege of Limerick, detached Ingoldby and Sir Hardress Waller to commence a blockade at some distance, while he marched in person toward Athlone, whither also at the same time Sir Charles Coote was directing his march from Ulster.

Victories
of Coote.

Coote, having defeated, in the preceding winter, the forces of Sir George Monroe and lord Montgomery of Ardes, had reduced Carrickfergus. Afterwards, while Cromwell was campaigning in the south, an attempt was made to form a union of the British royalists of Ulster with the catholics under Clanricarde, for the recovery of that province from the republicans: but as the catholics would admit no leader except one of their own election; and as the protestants were easily persuaded by the intrigues of the marquis of Antrim that their extirpation was intended by the catholics, this plan was frustrated. The latter, with the consent of Ormond, having elected Mac-Mahon, the bishop of Clogher, for their general, a man of much more courage than military skill, encountered Coote, with inferior numbers, near Letterkenny, contrary to the advice of their most experienced officers, and received a decisive overthrow,

overthrow, with the loss of many lives, particularly that of their ecclesiastical commander, who was taken in the pursuit, and soon after executed. Coote, having completed the reduction of Ulster by the surrendry of Enniskillen and Charlemount, marched southward toward Athlone, and seemed to threaten, by his motions, a junction with Ireton for the conquest of the western counties; while the catholics, distracted by the factions of their clergy, and jealous of a protestant chief governor, were taking no effectual steps for defense, and left the marquis of Ormond to strive by desperate efforts, with such ill provided troops as he could collect, to prevent the enemy from passing the river Shannon.

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